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ABSTRACT

Five separate national studies describe and analyze government involvement in various continuing education delivery systems in five European countries: Germany, France, Italy, the Netherlands, and Norway. The German study traces the historical background of further education in the Federal Republic of Germany, the provisions of the 1974 North Rhine/Westphalia further education law, and the planning procedure for a unit/credit system. In the second paper France's Continuous Vocational Training Act of 1971 is described briefly and an assessment is made of its effects after four years in operation. Focus is on the provision for individual educational leave from work, the involvement of trade union organizations and management, and new trends in State intervention. "Initial Results of Agreements on Paid Educational Leave in Italy" is the title of the Italian study, which reviews several experimental programs resulting from agreements on paid educational leave for certain categories of workers. Agreements and demands of the unions and response from public authorities are both analyzed. The fourth study traces historical development of adult education within the context of Dutch society and considers the government sponsored endeavor to create an "open school" system. "Self-Management of Adult Learning in Norway" describes some Norwegian experiments based on different degrees of participants' influence and discusses how self-management of learning is integrated into the Government bill on adult education (1976). Focus is on the relationship between the bill and the work for democracy in industry. (JT)

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COMMITTEE FOR OUT-OF-SCHOOL EDUCATION
AND CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

DEVELOPMENTS IN ADULT EDUCATION STRUCTURES

FIVE NATIONAL STUDIES

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
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PART I

THE NORTH RHINE-WESTPHALIAN FURTHER EDUCATION LAW OF 31ST JULY 1974 AND THE NORTH RHINE-WESTPHALIAN PLANNING PROCEDURE FOR A UNIT/CREDIT SYSTEM

by

Dr. P HAMACHER

I. LEGISLATIVE WORK IN THE FIELD OF FURTHER EDUCATION IN THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

In Germany, the promotion of adult education is provided for in the Constitution since the Weimar Republic. A provision in the Weimar Constitution of 1919 reads :

> "The Reich, Länder and local authorities shall take steps to promote further education, including Volkshochschulen".

Here "further education institutions" does not mean public institutions but institutions of society groups. Although the communalising of Volkshochschulen (whereby the latter are placed under the municipal authorities), begun in 1919 and still proceeding, is not included in the Weimar Constitution, the special position of Volkshochschulen is borne out by virtue of explicit mention thereof in the text of the Constitution.

The Bonn Basic Law of 1949 contains no special provisions on the subject of adult education. General adult education is a matter for the Länder. In most Länder of the Federal Republic there are, therefore, especial constitutional regulations relating to the promotion of adult education. The Constitution of North Rhine-Wesphalia, for example, contains the provision :

> "Steps shall be taken to promote adult education. In addition to the State, municipal authorities and associations of municipal authorities, other responsible bodies, such as churches and independent associations, are recognized as authorities responsible for institutions of adult education".

The vocational sphere of further education, on the other hand, is not a matter for the Länder but for the Federal Government, since it is connected with vocational requirements and the labour market. The Federal Government has jurisdictional powers in respect of vocational continued education, vocational retraining and vocational rehabilitation.

The differing powers of Federal Government and Länder respectively are the point of departure in this report for a description of legislative activities in the Federal Republic of Germany, since it is necessary to differentiate between federal laws and Länder laws.

There are so far three federal laws relating to the sphere of further education. The Labour Promotion Law of 1969 provides for long-term vocational continued education and retraining, with the help of individual and institutional promotion measures. The parties concerned give up their occupational activity and receive a considerable part of their former earnings as a subsistence allowance. The financial means under this law are not provided out of the national budget, but derive from employer and employee unemployment insurance contributions.

The Federal Law on Grants for Pupils and Students (Bundesausbildungsförderungsgesetz) has a bearing on adult education, especialy on adult education at the secondary level (Zweiter Bildungsweg). Its appropriations for the purpose are considerably smaller than those provided under the Labour Promotion Law ; they are intended to assist students at secondary general evening schools (Abendgymnasien), adult education institutions for acquiring the general maturity certificate (Institute zur Erlangung der Hochschulreife) and secondary general evening school shorter courses.

The Vocational Education Act prescribes the duration, requirements, final examinations and competence in the field of vocational further education. Special consideration is given therein to specific features of retraining and rehabilitation measures.

A federal bill of law on the subject of correspondence education is in course of preparation. No federal law has as yet been passed in respect of education leave.

Länder laws on adult education/further education (for the purposes of this report the terms are synonymous) have been promulgated in three batches :

1953 North Rhine/Westphalia - Law on subsidies to Volkshochschulen and corresponding further education institutions.

1970 Lower Saxony-Law on the Promotion of Adult Education.
Saarland - Law N° 910 on the Promotion of Adult Education in the Saarland.
Hesse - Law on Volkshochschulen.

1974/1975 Bremen - Law on Further Education in Land Bremen.
Hesse - Law on the Promotion of Adult Education Institutions. (This law is complementary to the Law on Volkshochschulen of 1970 and relates to the other bodies responsible for further education institutions).
North Rhine/Westphalia - First Law on the Organisation and Promotion of Further Education in North Rhine/Westphalia.
Bavaria - Law on the Promotion of Adult Education Institutions.
Rhineland/Palatinate - Land Law on the Re-organisation and Promotion of Further Education in Rhineland/Palatinate.

Law consultations are taking place in Baden/Württemberg and Berlin.

In the three Länder of Hamburg, Lower Saxony and Hesse, laws on education leave were passed in 1974.

All Länder laws on further education/adult education are "financing laws" ; they govern the financial promotion of adult education institutions under the Länder budgets. Such financing is either a jurisdictional requirement (North Rhine/Westphalia, Lower Saxony and the Saarland) or is determined by the respective appropriations (Bremen, Bavaria and Rhineland/Palatinate).

Besides determining the relevant financial measures, all Länder laws are also "structural laws", i.e. they determine structural features of further education facilities.

Some of the main structural problems in Länder laws as a whole are :

- Independent organisation of curricula ; pedagogic freedom.
- Guarantee of further education facilities for all citizens by a prescribed minimal standard programme.
- Co-ordination of the further education facilities offered by the various further education institutions, with the assistance of co-operative boards.
- Organisation of part of the facilities in the form of combinable education units (unit / credit systems).
- Re-enforcement of full-time educational staff specialising in further education ("professionalisation").
- Provision of premises for adult education suited to the special working conditions of this type of education.
- Provision of service institutions (e.g. Land institutes) available to all further education institutions.

The purpose of structurising provisions in Länder laws is to ensure public responsibility for further education by means of an adequate, comprehensive and versatile range of facilities with varying degrees of specialisation. It is in this context that the Federal Republic of Germany does not provide further education in accordance with a national system with government requirements in respect of curricula, as is, for instance, traditionally the case in respect of schools. On the other hand, adult education is not left to fend for itself. The Länder support the various bodies responsible for further education institutions, in so far as they fulfil given conditions. They merely lay down a broad structural framework, within which the bodies concerned (e.g. local authorities, churches, trade unions and independent associations) are free to make their own arrangements. It is expressly stated in the laws on further education that institutions have the right to independent organisation of curricula.

The respective further education laws of the Länder vary in their emphasis on structural features. In this context the Länder laws on adult education/further education fall into two categories. A majority of the laws expect the provision of further education facilities for citizens to be carried out by means of co-ordination with the help of co-operative boards. These Länder include Lower Saxony, the Saarland, Bavaria and Rhineland/Palatinate. The organisation of further education with the help of co-operative boards is in accordance with the general scheme of education drawn up by the Federal Government-Länder Committee on Education Planning in 1973. (Bildungsgesamtplan).

In two Länder laws (Hesse and North Rhine/Westphalia) the structural organisation of further education is carried out by making it a statutory obligation for the municipalities to set up university adult education institutes ("compulsory requirement"). The sphere of action of other bodies is unaffected thereby.

The Planning Committee on "Adult Education and Further Education", set up by the Minister of Education and Culture of North Rhine-Westphalia, proposed in its First Report in 1972 that local authorities be assigned the statutary obligation of setting up Volkshochschulen. Whilst the usefulness of co-operation is not gainsaid, it is not held to be the main organisational feature of further education.

II. THE 1974 NORTH RHINE/WESTPHALIA FURTHER EDUCATION LAW

a. Background

The First Law on the Organisation and Promotion of Further Education in the Land of North Rhine/Westphalia of 31 July 1974 came into force on 1 January 1975 and superseded the Volkshochschulen Law of 1953. The political determination to replace the Adult Education Law of 1953 - mainly a financing law - by a law with structural provisions for the organisation of the field of further education is bound up with the education reform in the Federal Republic. To this end further education is looked upon as a fourth sphere of the general system of education and an attempt is made to integrate it on an equal footing into the education system as a whole. After this goal had been laid down in the Government statement of Minister-President Heinz Kühn (1970) and the North Rhine-Westphalia Programme of 1970, the CDU Opposition tabled a bill of law in 1971. The Land Government worked out a concept with the Planning Committee of the Minister of Education and Culture. In 1973 a bill of law was introduced by the SPD and FDP coalition parliamentary groups and ultimately adopted against the votes of the Opposition. The contesting attitude of the Opposition is due to the differing financial provisions in respect of public and non-public institutions.

b. Structural Provisions

The North Rhine/Westphalia Further Education Law consists of four main sections. After the "Principles", the "Tasks of the Land" are set forth, followed by provisions relating to those institutions which are a responsibility of the municipal authorities and to those for which other bodies are responsible.

Principles

1. The Law on Further Education formulates for the first time in the Federal Republic a right to further education. The right to free development of personality and the right to a free choice of vocation, laid down in the Basic Law, are expressly related also to the field of further education. By further education is meant the continuance or resumption of organised learning after completion of an initial phase of education in school, in vocational training or in the university. The right to further education is not an actionable, precisely defined right which may be claimed by law, but is a general postulate.

2. The entire sphere of further education is defined as being a part, with equal rights, of the education system. It is at the same time clearly apparent that the part of further education governed by the law on further education does not embrace the whole of further education. The Law on Further Education relates solely to further education institutions for which the State or municipal authorities are responsible and to other further education institutions in so far as they are recognized by the law. All further education institutions within the meaning of the law are accessible to all persons. "Closed further education", for instance, within industrial enterprises does not come under the provisions of the law. Similarly, further education organised by schools or universities is not affected. Further education organised by schools is available, above all, in the sphere of schools for adult education at the secondary level (Zweiter Bildungsweg), that means in the sphere of subsequently taking school final examinations. Other further education schools are technical schools within the vocational school system which provide further education facilities for persons who have already completed the initial phase of education and taken up an occupation.

3. The Law on Further Education enumerates the most important tasks of further education according to their content, defining seven equivalent, interrelated spheres :

(i) The sphere of "non-vocational, further education leading to certificates" further education embraces, for instance, the certificate courses of the German Association of Volkshochschulen (Deutscher Volkshochschulverband) and courses for subsequent school final examinations in further education institutions.

(ii) Vocational further education includes all educational facilities for the purpose of providing participants with vocational knowledge, skills, abilities, insight and know-how for the exercise of an occupational activity, which do not fall within the sphere of primary vocational training. These facilities include, in particular, further education possibilities which, on the basis of a learnt or practised profession, are directed towards adjustment to changed vocational requirements, the subsequent completion of vocational studies, occupational promotion and re-integration of unemployed persons in professional life. Vocational further education includes retraining measures for the purpose of taking up a new trade or profession, with an eye to ensuring or improving vocational mobility.

(iii) Further education in the field of science includes facilities which, in both content and method, correspond to the curricula of higher scientific institutes and serve to extend and complete scientific education. In this way, it is intended to link up the further scientific education work of higher education institutes and further education institutions, bearing especially in mind the work of the newly founded correspondence university at Hagen (Westphalia).

(iv) Political further education relates to educational facilities conveying political information and imparting knowledge and abilities enabling the citizen to take an active part in public life.

(v) Further education for leisure-time activities and promoting creativity is intended to qualify participants to make active use of their spare time. The educational facilities provided may therefore include music training, hobby courses and sports and gymnastics training.

(vi) Parent and family education is centred on instruction in family matters. Parent education relates mainly to the upbringing of children. Other matters discussed are those of partnership in the family and the relationship of the family to society.

(vii) Further education related to the person is concerned above all with consideration of the participant's own person and include questions of livelihood and way of life. This sphere may, at the same time, be taken to include such miscellaneous features as do not come within the other six spheres.

4. The aim of the work of further education institutions is to provide further education facilities ensuring complete coverage of relevant needs. The responsibility for such facilities is assumed by the Land and municipal authorities as public bodies and by non-public or "independent" bodies.

5. Further education institutions have the right to independent organisation of their curricula. Teachers employed in further education institutions are, as such, entitled to freedom of teaching. The right to independent organisation of curricula means that the State may not interfere in such organisational activities. To some extent this right makes the institution relatively independent of its responsible authority in teaching matters. The responsible authority works out with the further education institution the long-term development of the further education operations and the principles which must be observed in this connection. Within this framework the institution is free to organise its curricula as it sees fit.

6. The Law on Further Education makes a distinction between the authority responsible for the further education institution and the institution itself. Responsible authorities are, for example, the municipal authorities ; institutions are, for example the Volkshochschulen. It is incumbent on responsible authorities to promulgate regulations governing the relationship between the bodies responsible and the institutions. The said regulations determine the position and the sphere of duty of the principal and of the educational and other staff. The regulations also specify the co-operative rights of the parties concerned. The co-operation refers to participants in further education arrangements as well as to staff members of an institution. The co-operation rights relate, in particular, to the planning and execution of educational facilities. The form of co-operation is not laid down in detail. The Minister of Education and Culture may issue model regulations to this effect.

7. Co-operation of schools and universities, as well as of vocational training and vocational further education institutions, with the further education institutions is prescribed without any special regulation as to the organisational form such co-operation should take being laid down. Especial emphasis is placed upon co-operation of further education institutions with secondary schools for adults (Abendgymnasien - secondary general evening schools ; Institute zur Erlangung der Hochschulreife - "Kollegs" - adult education institutions for acquiring the general maturity certificate ; and Abendrealschulen - secondary general evening schools, shorter courses).

8. Courses for the subsequent acquiring of school final examinations, hitherto provided by further education institutions (14,000 participants attended these courses in North Rhine/Westphalia in 1972) prepare the participants for the examinations that take place before a board whose members are not teachers of the participants. They are consequently preparatory courses for external examinations, although, as a general rule, the principle "The teacher is also the examiner" (internal examinations) is observed in the Federal Republic of Germany. In pursuance of the Law on Further Education institutions providing such education are entitled to hold state examinations (internal examinations) as is the practice under the school system. This is, however, conditional upon the corresponding curricula being equivalent to the state education curricula. This right holds good also, but not exclusively, in respect of subsequent school final examinations.

9. The Law on Further Education empowers the Land government to determine by legal order to what extent typified and combinable units of teaching programmes make it possible to acquire certificates and final diplomas in sections. In this way the legislator provides a means of preparation for building a unit / credit system.

Tasks of the Land

The Law on Further Education enumerates four tasks of the Land : the obligation to promote further education in accordance with the Law ; the promulgation of framework guidelines for development planning ; the setting up of a Land institute for further education and the creation of conditions for research, teaching and study in the organisational and didactic sphere of further education at universities.

The guidelines for development planning and setting up a Land institute for further education are the two most important indirect organisational possibilities of the Land in the sphere of further education on the basis of the relevant Law.

1. The Land framework guidelines for development planning relate to medium-term planning for a period of say, five years ("development planning"). The framework guidelines constitute the planning schedule for the individual further education development plans which must be submitted by all 54 "Kreise" (administrative districts) and "Kreis" -free towns of the Land within four years. These planning authorities must at the same time include the capacity planning of all other authorities responsible for recognised further education institutions, thereby creating a comprehensive plan for each planning region concerned. It primarily embodies the planning in respect of the future development of staff, space requirements and the necessary costs (e.g. investments). It is also called upon to arrange for sharing the use of rooms in schools, school centres and other cultural institutions. Since these tasks cannot be performed without taking account of the respective work programmes, development planning is also indirectly responsible for ensuring a certain amount of co-ordination in the provision of a given planning region with further education facilities. The framework guidelines for development planning are worked out by the Land and require the approval of the relevant parliamentary committee. Upon submission the further education development plans are examined to determine whether they comply with the framework guidelines.

2. The setting up of a Land institute for further education is the second important organisational possibility of the Land in the sphere of further education under the relevant Law. It is intended that the institute shall be a service institution for all concerned in further education and that it shall, in particular, help to improve and consolidate the quality of further education facilities. The institute will contribute to qualifying the facilities offered by effective promotion of further education curricula and ensuring the qualification of staff in the field of further

education by means of continued education. The Land institute may, for example, develop model further education facilities to stimulate and meet further education needs that can be made use of eventually if the institutions think them useful. The Land institute can acquire considerable importance in developing educational units within the framework of the unit/ credit system. It will, too, until such time as a federal unified further education institute is set up, fulfil the tasks of a documentation centre providing services extending beyond the borders of North Rhine/ Westphalia.

The Land institute for further education will be set up in conjunction with a Land institute for the continued training of teachers and curricula development, thereby bringing about closer contact with the rest of the education system, in so far as this is likely to be of assistance in meeting the needs of further education. The Land institute will probably have its headquarters at Soest.

Further education institutions under municipal authorities

A characteristic feature of the Law on Further Education in North Rhine/Westphalia is the delegation to municipal authorities of the duty to set up and maintain Volkshochschulen.

1. This duty is incumbent upon all "Kreis" -free towns and all "Kreis" municipal authority areas with a population of more than 40,000 inhabitants (in North Rhine/Westphalia the administrative areas known as "Kreise" are medium-size administrative units with about 150,000 inhabitants). In respect of municipal authority areas with less than 40,000 inhabitants, the said duty lies with the Kreis.

There are two main variants of this basic formula :

a. Municipal authority areas belonging to a Kreis and having a population of over 40,000 may delegate to the larger administrative unit of the Kreis the duty conferred upon them to set up and maintain Volkshochschulen, the larger unit thereupon becoming responsible for providing the said municipal authority areas with further education facilities.

b. Municipal authority areas with less than 40,000 inhabitants may unite to form associations of municipal authorities and constitute an administrative unit for more than 40,000 inhabitants, thereby also becoming entitled to assume the above-mentioned duty in respect of further education.

Municipal authority further education institutions are known as Vokshochschulen. Delegation of the relevant duty does not mean that adult education is thereby nationalised ; the work of providing adult education at Volkshochschulen institutes is part of the self-administration of municipal authorities.

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Prior to the entry into force of the Law on Further Education there were 245 municipal further education institutions in North Rhine/Westphalia, most of them comparatively small and run by part-time principals. As a result of the Law on Further Education about 150 fairly large Volkshochschulen will be set up. Delegation of the task of providing further education facilities and concentration upon efficient organisation units has, by and large, the assent of the municipal authorities concerned and the staff of the Volkshochschulen.

2. The setting up of Volkshochschulen is subject to the fulfilment of certain legal requirements :

(i) The Volkshochschulen are to be run by principals as a full-time occupation. There are no specific provisions concerning the qualifications of the principals.

(ii) It is incumbent on the Volkshochschulen to plan and provide instruction in all "spheres" with the exception of vocational further education (since the latter is not financed under the Law on Further Education).

(iii) The facilities offered must comprise a minimum number of hours of instruction per year, i.e. 2,400 hours of instruction a year per 40,000 inhabitants plus 4,800 hours a year for each Volkshochschule. A Volkshochschule in a municipality of 40,000 is required to plan and provide a minimum of 7,200 hours of instruction a year ; a Volkshochschule in a municipality of 80,000 inhabitants a minimum of 9,600 hours of instruction a year.

(iv) The necessary accomodation and educational material must be provided by the authority responsible for the Volkshochschule.

Further education institutions under other responsible authorities

In order to be promoted by the Land further education institutions under other responsible bodies need to be recognised by the competent Minister, e.g. the Minister of Education and Culture. They do not need to include all "spheres" in the facilities offered as do Volkshochschulen which provide basic facilities.

In order to obtain recognition, institutions must fulfil the following conditions :

(i) The nature and scope of their activity must offer a guarantee of continuity.

(ii) They must provide further education facilities of at least 600 hours of instruction a year within the area covered by them in North Rhine/Westphalia. In the case of institutions with boarding facilities (e.g. "Heimvolkshochschulen") the minimum requirement is not reckoned in hours of instruction but in "participant-days", the number of days of instruction being multiplied by the number of participants. The minimum amount of instructional activity for the recognition of further education institutions with boarding facilities is 1,500 participant-days per year.

(iii) Their sole purpose must be that of providing further education.

(iv) The instruction offered must not serve by way of priority the purposes of individual business enterprises.

(v) The instruction offered must not serve profit-making purposes. Commercial further education enterprises are consequently excluded.

(vi) The body responsible for an institution must undertake to provide the competent Minister with such information as he may request concerning the educational facilities offered. In this way it is possible to compile statistics relating to further education.

(vii) The body responsible must undertake to conduct capacity planning in concertation with the municipal authorities concerned. These requirements make it possible to plan the development of further education as part of the overall facilities.

(viii) The responsible body must be prepared to allow the competent Minister to exercise control over its financial operations in respect of the institution.

(ix) The responsible body must guarantee the proper use of the financial aid provided.

(x) The educational establishment must have a set of rules and regulations, defining in particular the position and tasks of the principal and staff of the further education institutions and the nature and scope of the co-operative rights of staff and participants in educational programmes.

c. Financial provisions

Under the Law on Further Education there exists a legal claim to financial promotion by the Land.

A characteristic feature of the North Rhine/Westphalia Law on Further Education is the way in which the method of promotion differs for Volkshochschulen and the other further education institutions respectively.

1. The bodies responsible for the task of providing further education receive in respect of the part of the costs subsidised by the Land a 100 % reimbursement of costs. In this way the Land sets out to provide basic further education facilities for the whole of the territory. Reimbursement is made of the cost of full-time educational staff and the hours of instruction provided, together with part of the administrative costs. Material costs are borne by the municipal authorities responsible. Payment is made of the costs in respect of the hours of instruction actually provided, on condition that the minimum number of participants is not, as a general rule, less than ten. This repayment of costs is, however, effected only subject to provision of the minimum facilities prescribed by law (2400 hours of instruction per 40,000 inhabitants, plus 4800 hours of instruction per Volkshochschule). In the case of Volkshochschulen, therefore, only the basic provision of minimum facilities is subsidised. The ceiling of the subsidies granted is identical with the extent of the minimum facilities provided.

For every 2400 hours of instruction actually provided a municipal authority maintaining a Volkshochschule is entitled to reimbursement in full of the cost of one full-time member of the educational staff. In respect of the first full-time member of the educational staff of a Volkshochschule the planning of the work programme suffices instead of 2400 hours of instruction. The maximum number of full-time members of the educational staff financed by the Land is likewise determined by the minimum education facilities provided. A Volkshochschule providing a minimum of 7200 hours of instruction per year may receive subsidies for three and a Volkshochschule providing a minimum of 9600 hours of instruction per year four posts for full-time educational staff.

The ratio of 2400 hours of instruction per year for each full-time member of the educational staff was determined by the Planning Committee of the North Rhine/Westphalia Minister of Education and Culture in its First Report in 1972, in order to establish the desirable ratio of largely available full-time educational staff whose main task it is to plan and organise the programme, not to do the teaching work, and the number of hours of instruction in the Work Programme. The hours of instruction in adult education are mainly given by part-time teachers.

Subsidies are not granted in respect of teaching facilities in the sphere of vocational further education on account of the uncertain financial implications for the Land, as well as of the partial responsibility of the Federal State and the possibility of aid under the Labour Promotion Law.

Special financial aid may be provided for investment projects.

2. Recognised institutions under other responsible bodies are granted aid in different ways, according to whether they carry out their work on the basis of hours of instruction or that of participants-days.

Institutions working on the basis of hours of instruction receive 60 per cent of the subsidies for responsible municipal authorities. In this case, however, there is no ceiling as in that of Volkshochschulen. The number of subsidisable hours of instruction plus an administrative costs allowance and the number of subsidisable posts for educational staff (one full-time member of the educational staff per 2400 hours of instruction per year) are not limited.

Institutions with boarding facilities (e.g. "Heimvolkshochschulen"), which reckon in participant-days, are granted per participant-day a subsidy which is geared to staff expenditure. For 1500 participant-days a grant of one and a half times the staff costs subsidy is made for one full-time member of the educational staff in such an institution. In addition, a subsistence allowance is granted.

For every 1500 participant-days one post for a full-time member of the educational staff is subsidised to the extent of 60 per cent. In the case of institutions with boarding facilities there is likewise no ceiling in respect of subsidies for participant-days and educational staff.

3. Assistance granted takes the form of allowances which are laid down each year by the Parliament in the Land Budget. These appropriations are granted under three headings :

- full-time educational staff
  (1975 : 50,000 DM)

- instructions hours including a 50 % share of administrative expenditure
  (1975 : allowance per instruction hour 25 DM plus 50 % for administrative expenditure 12.50 DM
  Total allowance : 37.50 DM)

- Subsistence allowance in respect of institutions with boarding facilities
  (1975 : 3.-- DM per participant-day).

Public institutions receive in full the allowances for staff and instruction hours ; non-public institutions receive 60 per cent. The grant for one participant-day is at present 33 DM.

4. The 1975 Land Budget contains an appropriation of 70,000,000 DM for municipal authorities responsible for further education and of about 30,000,000 DM for other responsible bodies.

d. Implementation

The North/Westphalia Further Education Law entered into force on 1 January 1975. It is consequently possible to report only to a limited extent on the results achieved. After promulgation of the administrative provisions and legal regulations relating to implementation no serious difficulties have been found to arise. The 1953 Law on grants to Volkshochschulen and corresponding institutions will be allowed to run for another three years, in order to give those institutions not wishing to be recognised immediately after the new law time for adjustment. So far 120 further education institutions have received recognition under the new law. Volkshochschulen are at present providing well over 1,000,000 hours of instruction ; the other responsible bodies are providing some 240,000 instruction hours and 286,000 participant-days. There is clear evidence of a re-enforcement of educational staff in pursuance of the intentions of the new law. Since the Land is now granting much higher subsidies to further education institutions than hitherto (1974 : 30 million DM ; 1975 : 100 million DM) it is to be expected the further education facilities provided will be both improved and extended.

III. PLANNING FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF A UNIT / CREDIT SYSTEM IN THE SPHERE OF FURTHER EDUCATION

The idea of developing educational provision in terms of a unit/credit system was given especial emphasis in the structural plan of the German Education Council in 1970. The Planning Committee of the North Rhine/Westphalia Minister of Education and Culture thereupon set about working out recommendations for the development of a unit/credit system in its First and Second Reports (1972/75). (Booklets 19 and 25 of the documents series on the Structural Promotion of Education in the Land of North Rhine/Westphalia ; Erwachsenenbildung - Weiterbildung, Erster Bericht der Planungskommission Erwachsenenbildung und Weiterbildung des Kultusministers des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen, Heft 19 des Schriftenreihe des Kultusministers "Strukturförderung im Bildungswesen des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen, Ratingen 1972 ; Zur Entwicklung der Weiterbildung, Zweiter Bericht der Planungskommission Erwachsenenbildung und Weiterbildung des Kultusministers des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen, Heft 25 der Schriftenreihe des Kultusministers "Strukturförderung im Bildungswesen des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen, Köln 1975).

A special provision on the development of a unit / credit system in the North Rhine/Westphalia Law on Further Education reads :

> "The responsible Minister shall specify by legal order the extent to which typified and combinable educational units may make it possible to acquire certificates and final diplomas in part-sections."

The said legal order has not yet been issued ; preliminary work will still take some time.

From the legislative provision it is possible to deduce the various features of the planning concept for the unit/ credit system. The four main features are :

- typified component units ;
- integration of the component units into a unit / credit system to make the components combinable ;
- qualification goals which can be achieved in part-sections ;
- recognition procedure for component units.

1. The unit / credit system consists primarily of typified educational units, which comprise the basic features ("component units"). The idea of unit/ credit systems from the fact that in further education facilities given educational units recur again and again and that it is consequently rational to typify these units by standardising them. They can thereupon be repeated in approximately the same quality. Their purpose then becomes comparable to the party concerned, since component unit provisions are, in a manner of speaking, comparable with a trade mark article, affording guidance to the interested party in his further education efforts and helping him to make up his mind. The establishing of typified educational units must take into account the tension between the respective individual concrete instruction in equivalent educational units and the overall educational aims and contents.

Not all educational aims and contents are amenable in the same way to standardisation.

Educational units may be standardised in three main ways :

- By ensuring that education as a whole and in all details is closely governed by step-by-step procedure, as is, for example, the case in programmed instruction.
- Specification of determinable minimum results upon completion of educational units, it being left to a large degree to the teacher how he achieves the result.
- Standardisation by means of model educational processes, making directly discernible the intended alternating effect of themes, instruction procedure and educational aims.

It must, however, be pointed out that standardisation takes considerable time. Topical facilities based on spontaneous needs are not, therefore, as a rule standardisable. The high cost entailed would appear to make standardisation of facilities rational only for educational facilities for which there is a fairly frequent demand or which must be provided at fairly short notice in many places.

The compilation of "component units" is carried out in accordance with procedure commonly adopted in curricula development :

- Consolidation of the initial basis (provision of funds) ;
- Definition of minimum results (compilation of a catalogue of educational targets) ;
- Elaboration of planning aids and educational material (construction and implementation) ;
- Controlled testing (Evaluation).

In typifying educational units a question which is of some importance is that of the amount of time available. In this connection the necessary time is determined by educational targets, target level and the initial situation. In further education this time is available only to a limited extent. Educational target and target level are in fact determined by the time available. It has to be decided how much time must be available in order to make it rational to typify educational units. In this connection it might, too, be deemed desirable to consider reducing the educational targets envisaged.

Consideration might be given to adopting model periods for the time assigned to a component unit, in order that the latter may be suitable dovetailed into the organisational set-up of the other facilities. The Planning Committee of the North Rhine/ Westphalia Minister of Education and Culture proposes that three basic periods of time be adopted :

(i) about 20 to 30 hours
(a course of 10 or 15 two-hours sessions; a week's seminar)

(ii) about 60 hours
(a year's course of one weekly two-hour session)

(iii) about 160 to 360 hours
("Volkshochschul" certificate course in English, e.g. 360 hours ; mathematics, e.g. 200 hours ; two years' instruction in one subject at an Abendrealschule (evening intermediate school) four hours a week = 160 hours).

Each basic period of time might be used for the development of component units. It is conceivable that a number of short-time component units may yield a component unit of the next larger basic period.

Typified educational units can be produced by various departments. In the Federal Republic of Germany steps have been taken in this sphere by the Paedagogic Work Department of the German "Volkshochschulverband" ; in developing "Volkshochschulzertifikate" (adult education certificates) the Department has presented a clear picture of how typified educational units may be worked out.

2. Another key-phrase embodied by the legislator in the legal order is that of the "combinable nature of component units", which is at the root of unit / credit systems. Such systems are frequently met with in the sphere of technical manufacture and have thence been transferred to adult education.

The concept of the unit / credit system is based on the assumption that typified educational units should not constitute isolated facilities but should be bound up with each other. To this end component units may be either placed alongside each other or serve to assist in a building-up process between component units. For example, in the certificate system of the German "Volkshochschulverband" the certificate component unit Mathematics is next to the certificate component unit French ; both are fundamental component units. There is no component unit which serves to prepare for them. On the other hand, there is a build-up relationship between electrical engineering and electronics.

Where component units can be used for several aims, they are known as polyvalent (versatile) component units. The multiple available use of component units increases the mobility of the participating student. He can change his qualification goal without the skill he has already acquired becoming superfluous. He can be given credit for it, thereby avoiding unnecessary loss of time.

3. The unit / credit system is directed towards qualification goals, qulifying certificates and final qualifications. The typified educational units are organised to these ends. This does not, however, mean that the completion of typified units is not of itself of value. It is, indeed, a feature of the unit / credit system that partial final achievements are possible without such part-completion necessarily leading in each case to the qualification goal.

The organisation of unduly lengthy courses is likely to give rise to problems in further education. They should, on the contrary, be divided up into part-sections in order that they may thereby be converted into a composite unit / credit system. By setting intermediate goals a unit / credit system serves to motivate participants and encourages future participants to make a start. It enables the time available to be better organised. Final qualifications frequently make the juxtaposition of several subjects necessary. In this case, too, part-sections and part-qualifications are desirable ; instead of all the prescribed subjects being simultaneously completed, final completion may be achieved by the successive completion of part-finals. This successive process has the advantage of ensuring careful application presenting no risk. It can serve as an introduction to the concurrent study of several subjects.

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4. Lastly, the unit / credit system calls for recognition modalities. They must be laid down in a legal order, whereby the Minister responsible specifies the extent to which certificates and final qualifications may be acquired. Recognition may be granted by evaluating a partial achievement (component unit) as a contribution towards final qualification. This is, for instance, the case where a language certificate of a further education institution may be credited as proof of achievement of the required standard for the purpose of subsequent completion of school finals, without renewed testing of achievements being demanded, or where a given natural science certificate is accepted as proof of having achieved the required standard in the case of qualification for vocational promotion (e.g. technician, master craftsman).

In conclusion, a number of limitations must be formulated with regard to the planning concept of the unit / credit system :

a. Typified educational units are practicable in respect of only part - say one-third - of further education facilities offered.

b. In typifying and standardising such units, the danger must not be underestimated of their becoming too hard-and-fast ; it can be limited only by continual revision of the curricula.

3. Although the necessary frequency of demand for a unit / credit system should, on the whole, become more pronounced, it nonetheless places an important restriction on a too expansive introduction of such a system in the field of further education.

4. It will in many cases be possible only to a limited extent to organise effective combination of component units. This is most conveniently practicable in respect of media facilities, without direct instruction. Even where it is not possible to embody it in a unit / credit system, the typifying of educational units is of considerable utility for the development of further education, since it can contribute to improving the quality of further education facilities.

The planning concept of the unit / credit system is mainly directed towards improving individual educational facilities, systematising educational units in their relationship to each other and enhancing the transparency of the further education facilities for the interested citizen.

In North Rhine/Westphalia the development of the unit / credit system will probably begin along two lines :

- Recognition of Volkshochschul certificates and comparable educational units within the framework of adult secondary education (Zweiter Bildungsweg) ;
- Elaboration of typified facilities of a model nature by the future Land Institute for Further Education.

The strategic impulse for the development of a unit / credit system should lie firstly in harnessing further education facilities to qualification goals, which have already been introduced in the remaining spheres of education, including that of vocational training, and secondly in a growing improvement of the quality of further education facilities by laying down educational aims and contents.

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PART II

APPLICATION OF THE CONTINUOUS VOCATIONAL TRAINING ACT (16 JULY 1971)

by

P BOLO

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Now that management and trade union organisations are meeting to consider means of improving the vocational training agreement of 9 July 1970, on which the Act of 16 July 1971 is largely based, it is time to take stock of the effectiveness of this contractual and legislative apparatus at the end of four years.

Vocational training in France did not originate with this body of texts; it was already an economic and legal reality in 1970. Economic in so far as expenditure for training in French industrial firms employing over 50 workers, for example, already accounted for 1.10% of the payroll in 1966, although with sizeable fluctuations from one sector to another. This is the finding of surveys carried out at the time by the INSEE (1). Legal, too, in so far as certain elements in the present structure had already been established by two laws: the Act of 3 December 1966 which instituted the training convention as the instrument of state intervention and laid down the principle - but only the principle - of educational leave; and the Act of 31 December 1968, which provided for the payment of trainees on state-approved courses.

It is therefore important to identify the original contributions of the 1970 agreement and 1971 Act, so that we may attempt to evaluate their results.

The National Interoccupational Agreement signed by the workers' trade union federations and the Conseil National du Patronat Francais (CNPF) and Confédération Générale des Petites et Moyennes Entréprises (CGPME) is a follow-up to the Grenelle Agreement, itself a product of the events of May 1968. As such, it reflects a balance of power and includes a series of provisions agreed upon by the social partners after fourteen months of negotiations, and seen by them as a means of progressing towards goals which are by no means identical. For management, vocational training was first and foremost a means of adjusting to technical change, an investment, "one of the strongest forces for social progress and economic development (2)". For the workers' organisations, it was to be "a springboard in our struggle" (title of a CGT pamphlet), primarily an instrument for increasing workers' power, and securing greater autonomy.

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(1) J M Belorgey, "le financement de la Formation Professionnelle Continue", Education Permanente No. 15.

(2) Mr Yvon Chotard, at the CNPF meeting in Deauville in November 1973.

The agreement establishes the right to educational leave - that is, permission to be absent from one's place of work in order to undergo training; it obliges employers to continue paying wages to workers they send for training and to pay the cost of their training as well; it also obliges them to continue paying wages to workers on educational leave who are attending courses approved by the joint employment committee of their occupational category. Lastly, the agreement establishes special compensation arrangements for workers affected by a mass lay-off on economic grounds.

The Act extends the right to educational leave to all workers, wage-earners or not, and fixes a minimum percentage to represent the financial contribution to vocational training of anyone employing over 10 workers. It is designed to operate as much as possible through consultation. Under it, discussion of training questions by the works council is compulsory, and the council must also be consulted before any financial aid can be obtained from the state under a convention. Lastly, it defines the conditions on which state aid may be granted, for both capital and running expenses of centres and payment of trainees.

After a brief look at the overall figures, we shall attempt to evaluate progress in the following key areas since the Act came into force on 1 January 1972:

- the right to individual educational leave;
- consultation in the field of training.

We shall then point out the darker side of firm-organised training, and the new trends in state intervention.

To begin with, however, we should define the limits of this study and the obstacles facing any attempt to assess the present implementation of the training policy. They arise from a very definite lack of satisfactory information. In the first place, there is simply not enough of it. The chief source of information on firm-organised training is the annual declaration completed by employers and sent to the tax inspector, every 5 April. It accounts for expenditure under the heading of the firm's compulsory contribution to training, which is a percentage of the payroll. Of course, supplementary expenditure can also be declared, as it can be spread over the following three years.

However, when we recall that in 1969 some industries were already spending 2.24% of the payroll for this purpose, we may conclude that a substantial proportion of the training effectively dispensed does not appear in statistics derived solely from the annual declarations. In his report to the National Assembly (3) on the results of the vocational training policy in France, Mr Ribadeau Dumas regretted that information "remained so incomplete as regards both the evaluation of training needs and the evaluation of results ... the document submitted annually as an appendix to the finance bill ... adds together full-time and part-time courses indiscriminately ... and in any event, the data it contains is extremely generalised and cannot be used to ascertain what benefits either firms or trainees may be deriving from the training policy".

The qualitative inadequacy of information on the implementation of the policy therefore, is even more flagrant. Of course, when the choice was made to give the fullest possible decision-making powers to the social partners acting together, and at every level from the national federation to the individual firm, it automatically followed that the information facilities offered by more centralised structures would not be available.

I. OVERALL FIGURES FOR CVT SINCE 1972

Total figures refer mainly to the amount of money spent and the number of workers involved, and on that basis the authorities have been able to conclude that CVT is progressing satisfactorily.

The 1976 finance bill appendix (4) on vocational training and social progress announces that "the information compiled on the efforts of firms and public financing reveals the extent and rapidity of growth in France in the past three years".

1. Money-spent:

In thousand million francs:	1972	1973	1974
by the state	1.7	2.0	2.3
by firms	2.8	3.7	4.9
combined	4.5	5.7	7.2

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(3) Information report on behalf of the Finance, General Economy and Plan Committee; Assemblée Nationale No. 1625 - May 1975.

(4) In pursuance of Article 11 of the Act of 16 July 1971, an appendix to the annual finance bill gives an account of the allocation of public money and employers' participations.

The state's allocation for training (exclusive of apprenticeships) has accordingly increased by nearly 40% between 1972 and 1974, and has tripled in comparison with the figure for 1969 = 0.8 thousand million francs.

Comparing firms' expenditure for training with their total payroll, we observe that their participation has risen steadily, from 1.35% in 1972 to 1.49% in 1973 and 1.63% in 1974.

2. Numbers of workers involved

The total number of trainees in 1974 means that one out of 8 persons in employment was involved in some form of training.

The number of trainees on state-financed courses has fallen appreciably since 1973; the reason for this is that public intervention is tending increasingly to favour long training, and is therefore becoming more selective.

Trainees having attended a whole course or part of a course	1972	1973	1974
financed by the state	958,000	956,000	888,000
financed by firms	1,049,000	1,492,000	1,770,000
combined*	1,760,000	2,230,000	2,470,000

In addition to the total numbers involved in training, length of courses must also be taken into consideration.

The trend here is for courses to be slightly longer when state-financed and shorter when financed privately.

Hours of training	1972	1973	1974
state-financed	182,000,000	180,000,000	185,000,000
firm-financed	78,000,000	103,000,000	110,000,000
average course length - state	190 h	190 h	210 h
average course length - firm	175 h	67 h	62 h

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* The figures on this line are not totals of the two lines above, because the courses attended by a certain number of trainees (250,000 in 1972, 220,000 in 1973 and 190,000 in 1974) were financed jointly by state and firms, but have not been counted twice in the total.

We can already see, in spite of a slight increase in both expenditure and numbers of persons involved, that we are still a long way from the goal set by the Act: 2% of all workers absent at any moment on 160-hour courses.

We must now consider the meaning of these figures in greater detail, in relation to the basic aims of the law.

II. THE RIGHT TO INDIVIDUAL EDUCATIONAL LEAVE

On this point everyone has made the same observation, ie that very little use is being made of the right to educational leave. This is a failure, or at least a trend contrary to that foreseen. Even in its introduction, the appendix to the finance bill lays stress on this weak point and on the need "to improve the present system so that workers may make greater use of their right to educational leave".

First of all, let us look at the figures: in 1974 90,000 workers, out of the recorded total of 2,500,000 trainees for the year, were on educational leave, giving the absurdly small percentage of 3.6% acting on their own initiative. The Ribadeau Dumas report mentions a survey of 104 firms in the Isère, Pas de Calais and Sarthe, employing a total of 62,534 workers. Applications for educational leave received by these firms amounted to a grand total of - 21! The figure is modest, to say the least. The people conducting the survey did try to evaluate the potential demand, however, and concluded "that a definite increase in the demand is to be anticipated".

All sorts of explanations are offered to account for this lack of interest in educational leave. Too much attention is often paid to reasons of a psychological nature, such as lack of motivation, and mistrust of the training process. True, the dread of "going back to school" does exist, and true, too, teaching at the basic level of education is so often failure-oriented that any adult with a memory may be discouraged for life from any form of training. And it is also true that a very large number of jobs involving tasks which are repetitive, fragmented, mind-deadening - why mince words - have not yet been, if they ever can be, "enriched". And after spending several years at this type of activity, it is true that a worker may well feel he is no longer capable of the intellectual effort required by the process of learning. Such fears and inhibitions exist, but they are not the prime obstacle to workers' initiative. Nor is the uncertain history of the right to educational leave itself. As J M Luttringer puts it, this right had a "difficult delivery (5)". Until

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(5) J M Luttringer, "La difficile naissance du droit au congé formation", Droit Social No. 1, January 1975.

1 July 1975, there was complete confusion between a request for training originating with the worker who was using his right to educational leave, and his being sent for training on his employer's initiative. Henceforth workers going on courses on their own initiative will be counted as being on educational leave. But these legislative misunderstandings do not seem to have much to do with the fact that so little use is being made of the new right. The major obstacles are workers' lack of information and, above all, cost.

Lack of adequate information about a new right is obviously a handicap to its use. In keeping with the rest of the law which establishes decentralisation of decision and consultation at all levels, information was also to be decentralised; it was to make use of existing channels in the working world and emerge after the free play of consultation at the different levels. And indeed, the workers were informed of their new right, but that right was not the result of a long-standing and massive demand; more importantly, it was a right whose concrete meaning long escaped them. The enabling acts have been produced with some degree of celerity; yet information about the right, accompanied by detailed particulars of existing training opportunities, the holding of courses, the authorities to be consulted and procedures to be followed, has not had the desired impact. Sources were and indeed had to be manifold, but in some cases mistrust was the result of this diversity. The previously-mentioned enquiry is illuminating on this point: "The fact of having attended a course brings some improvement in workers' awareness of the law, but not to a point that could be declared satisfactory: out of every three workers having undergone training, one is totally ignorant of the law and the second is only dimly aware of it. Over half of the remainder have never heard of it, and more than a quarter vaguely know that it exists but cannot mention a single specific provision in it." This degree of workers' ignorance of their rights must have some connection with the small number of individual applications.

The major obstacle, however, is still economic. For one thing, the employment situation is not conducive to a rise in individual applications; but above all, the cost of training - counting both loss of wages and payment for training itself - remains the over-riding barrier.

With the present growing unemployment, workers feel - even when they have been very clearly informed that their jobs are guaranteed by law and that leaving for training on their own initiative does not break their employment contract - that it is risky to express any desire for change at all; in their eyes, this would be marking themselves out as a future target for a dreaded lay-off. When a group training scheme was set up in the Lorrain coal-mining area, analysis of voluntary enrolments showed that there is a minimum threshold

of job uncertainty below which training exerts but little force of attraction, and a maximum threshold above which it exerts none at all*. The present employment situation in France is more conducive to the collective expression within the firm of individual needs, than to the use of the right to individual educational leave.

Now let us look at the problem of financing individual leave. We know that educational leave consists in a permission to absent oneself from work, unaccompanied by a guarantee of payment. However, there are two possibilities open to the worker: either he takes a course approved by the joint committee of his occupational category, in which case his wages are paid in full for the first 160 hours of training; or he takes a course which has been state-approved with respect to payment. If it is a refresher course (of which there are very few), he receives a monthly salary equivalent to the SMIC which in February 1976 was 1365 F. If it is a longer advanced vocational course, he is paid an allowance which varies with the level of qualification attained at the end of the course. In most instances this allowance means a very appreciable reduction in income, over a period lasting between 1 and 2 years.

Levels I and II - Engineers and cadres - 2050/month
Level III - Senior technicians - 1850/month
Level IV - Technicians - 1500/month

In addition although the worker may be sure of getting his former job back at the end of his course, he has no certainty at all of being promoted to a job corresponding to his new level of qualification. For courses which are not state-approved and whose vocational value is not recognised by a joint body, the worker's right is "limited by his personal financial resources", in the words of the CNPF (6).

To the problem of maintaining earnings is added that of paying for training. It should be observed that this problem also arises - independently of the right to educational leave - for unemployed workers, who are thus quite unable to undergo training even though their former wage level is guaranteed for a year.

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* Lesne, Collon, Oeconomo - "Changement socio-professionel et formation. Etude d'une situation de crise dans le bassin de Briey". Doc. INFA - 1968.

(6) CNPF pamphlet, "Bilan et réflexions 75".

The white paper on obstacles to training for unemployed workers presented by the Assedic group of the Paris region, gives a few examples of the cost of the courses most commonly applied for, which must be borne in full by the unemployed person or worker on educational leave.

Organising body	Type	Length	Cost
Paris Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Girls' Business School	Spoken and written communication	36 h	1200F
LANCO	English, German	25 h	1300F week
Paris Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Trudaine Centre	Shorthand typing	24 h	3000F
Clothing industry Technical Centre	Pattern-maker/marker	4 weeks	2400F

These courses are state-aided; even so, the cost remains high, equal to or more than the hourly or monthly pay in the corresponding occupations.

Furthermore, there have been numerous examples of unjustfiably large fees demanded by the training market in recent years. In his report on the finance control bill (7) enacted on 31 December 1975, Jacques Delong states that "liberalism sometimes needs a helping hand, especially to avoid the harmful effects of 'deals' which may be made between training bodies and employers to the detriment of those 'third parties' who ought to be the beneficiaries, ie the workers themselves". As we have seen, however, even if bodies charging fees which are "excessive in relation to the normal price" will hereafter be prosecuted, this will do nothing to remove the major obstacle to the use of the right to individual educational leave, which is the cost of training.

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(7) Report by Jacques Delong on behalf of the Cultural Family and Social Affairs Committee, Assemblée Nationale No. 1997, November 1975.

However, we can qualify this negative conclusion regarding educational leave by considering what other means exist for satisfying individuals' demands. In "Bilan et réflexion 75" the CNPF suggests two reasons for the small number of applications for leave, which "have nothing to do with obstructionism on the part of management".

"In the first place, when an employer assumes financial responsibility for an individual course application, it is recorded in the tax declaration as an employer's initiative. This disguises the fact that the application came from the individual.

In the second place, as consultation develops in working out training programmes, the employer is increasingly brought to incorporate individual and collective requests into the programme even when they have no obvious connection with the professional activity of the people expressing them."

It is true that the collectively expressed needs of many workers find satisfaction in the firm's general training programme. In some cases satisfaction has even been guaranteed above and beyond the annual execution of the plan, by means of firm and occasionally occupation agreements giving workers more extensive rights than those laid down in the agreement and Act. As an example, we may take the SAVIEM agreement whereby the firm's (14000) workers are entitled to a total of 6 hours a week or 24 hours a month of paid educational leave. This is not counted as part of the 2% maximum absence for training or as deductible expenditure under the heading of compulsory participation. We should take note of one provision in this agreement whose importance to the improved functioning of consultation will be seen further on: "the members of each firm's training committee shall have a total monthly allocation of 50 hours to apportion among themselves."

We should also mention a clause in another firm agreement because it relates to information about training, the urgent need for which we have already seen. This provision occurs in the TEPPAZ agreement signed on 29 October 1975 after a dispute with occupation of premises, lasting several months. The agreement stipulates that "a total annual information allocation of 6 hours shall be granted to everyone employed".

After this brief review of the present use of the right to educational leave, the obstacles facing it, and the potential opened up to workers' initiative by collective negotiation, we will naturally want to see how the consultation process is functioning in the implementation of the training policy.

III. OPERATION OF JOINT AND WORKERS' REPRESENTATIVE BODIES

It has repeatedly been said that the CVT machinery in France operates by a system of consultation. What does this rather vague term actually mean? First of all, it means that before the state can enact legislation and regulations, it must consult the representatives of the social partners and arrange for the participation of employers' and workers' organisations on the numerous consultative bodies, at national, regional and even department levels.

The other aspect of consultation relates to the relations between the social partners themselves. The employers remain masters of the firms' activity, and across from them their employers' trade unions possess negotiating powers. But the law can only take effect by means of consultation between employers and workers at every level. This may assume different forms: exchange of information, discussion meetings, definition of areas in which decisions must be made jointly, supervision of workers' representative bodies to ensure respect for individual rights. The main occasion for consultation is the joint committee meetings (in which seats are divided equally between management and workers' representatives) in each occupational category the jointly set up and managed training insurance funds, and the works councils set up under the order of 22 February 1945.

The firm is the basic unit of the system. It is there that the right to educational leave is used and the compulsory financial participation is made, and it is also the centre of consultation. Our first subject for consideration will accordingly be the works council and its training committee; we shall then move on to look briefly at the training insurance funds (FAF) and employment committees (CPE), which are also joint bodies.

Under the law, compulsory financial participation is coupled with the obligation to ensure that the works council discusses general training problems within the firm. The importance attached to this latter point by the law is shown by the fact that failure to comply with it renders the offender liable to a fine amounting to 50% of the financial participation.

To what extent has this obligation been respected thus far?

In the first place, we should note that the Act has led to the institution of works councils in firms which ought long since to have had them. A study published by J M Luttringer in Droit Social (8) states that "these legislative measures (CVT) have undeniably contributed to the rising number of works councils. In 1972 the Ministry of Labour recorded over 3300 new councils, or more than twice as many as were founded in 1970.

	1970	1971	1972	1973
Existing committees	12978	14158	18040	19663
New committees	1586	1482	3339	2320

It is difficult to ascertain the number of firms which have preferred to pay the increase for non-discussion by the works council. The finance bill appendices say that the amount paid into the Treasury under this heading was 7.5 million francs in 1972, 9.5 million in 1973, and 13 million in 1974.

What we most need to know are the conditions in which this discussion takes place, what it involves and how it is prepared. In this respect, information is signally wanting. The only study available is that by the Secretariat General for Vocational Training, based on the minutes of council discussions and tax declarations of 1817 firms in the Nord, Limousin and Franche-Comté regions in 1973. The sample cannot be regarded as representative, as the rate of participation is 1.20% or lower than the national rate of 1.65% for firms of the same size. The study does establish, however, that the existence of minutes of a discussion is not sufficient ground for deciding that the works council has taken an active part in preparing the training programme. The general results of the study are given in the following table.

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(8) J M Luttringer, "Comité d'entreprise et formation", Droit Social, No. 4, April 75.

Percentage of firms in which:	Regions: Nord, Limousin, Franche-Compté, by size of firm			Firms with over 2000 (headquarters in Paris)
	Average over 50 workers	50-300 workers	Over 300 workers	
- consultation took place before 1/1/1973	63%	61%	71%	83%
- preparations were made for the meeting	19%	14%	41%	55%
- the works council expressed an opinion on training	55%	57%	48%	55%
- the employer supplied the works council with information	60%	57%	74%	92%
- the employer presented a training programme (*)	28%	22%	53%	82%
- staff representatives made proposals	19%	15%	37%	66%
- the works council actually debated the training programme	18%	14%	31%	67%
- number of minutes to which percentages refer	1,817	1,439	378	120

(*) The concept of "training programme" implies information on the following:

- objectives of training in terms of needs of firm and of workers
- nature of training
- bodies providing training
- conditions and methods of training
- occupations concerned.

The study also shows the importance of preparation for the discussion. On several occasions since the law was enacted, the authorities have called attention to the strength of the term "délibération" in French law, and have rejected the idea that a mere consultation can suffice. At this point, however, there are no legal texts setting out the conditions which must be met, especially as regards the provision of documents long enough in advance for the term "délibération" to correspond to reality. The Secretariat General's study observes that "documents seldom seem to be distributed in advance; this is done by 3% of the firms having 50-300 workers and 7% of those having more than 300, 4% being the average figure. Many council members have drawn attention to this situation, arguing that the absence of preparatory documents made it impossible for them to carry out a study of training problems, and thus to make a valid contribution to the debate".

A certain amount of preparation is involved in the presentation by works councils of proposals relating to problems which are of prime importance to all workers: the choice of bodies and means, the value of training courses and the categories covered.

The study also shows that the active participation of works council members in debates on training depends largely on the size of firms. These conclusions agree with those of an enquiry commissioned by the Finance Committee: "a genuine training policy is found far more often in large firms than in small ones ... in almost half of the firms having fewer than 500 workers, the training policy is the product of management alone".

Proposals designed to give greater reality to the efforts of the works councils and their training committees have been put forward in the report of the Comité pour la Réforme de l'Entreprise of which Pierre Sudreau is Chairman: "Under the present law, the works council must be consulted on general problems relating to vocational training, both initial and advanced. So conceived, consultation may assume a relatively formal aspect. As this is a key area for employees, discussion should aim at a true training programme covering the following particular points: amounts spent on training, occupational categories affected, division of training within and without the firm, specialist and general training, choice of training bodies. All these aspects should be studied and discussed beforehand by the training committees. To enable them to perform their task efficiently, it would be desirable for them to be given a certain number of hours, with a minimum set by law."

One area in which the works councils and training committees already play an important role in some cases, as a channel for the expression of workers' demands, relates to the analysis and development of those demands. Some firms have investigated the paradoxical situation in which requests for training almost always originate among the workers who are already most highly-trained. Of course, there are reasons for this, such as the fact that the courses offered are so short that no substantial change in occupational standing can be expected from them, or the virtual absence of any link between training and promotion; but there are other reasons as well. Most often, the offer of training appears in the firm as a catalogue of actions each of which should correspond to an existing and expressed need. But the facts do not bear out this assumption for the categories to whom training has hitherto been offered only exceptionally, ie the unskilled and semi-skilled workers. It is only at the close of a sometimes lengthy collective analysis of the work situation and possible objectives of training that demands can emerge which have had time to "mature". Some councils have persuaded their managements to set up analysis machinery which they help to supervise or even assume control of. The existence of such machinery has usually led to council proposals aimed at bringing into the training programme elements designed for categories previously having expressed no "needs", and offering new material in remedial, general and even cultural education.

Before closing this outline of the present role of the works councils, we should remember that their members must be enabled to receive appropriate training if they are to perform all these new and, as we have seen, highly complex tasks satisfactorily. Increasing the workers' educational leave resources for the purpose of trade union training might help to solve this problem of bringing capacities into line with declared political desires.

The training insurance fund (FAF) is another centre of consultation. This is a joint body, of which the lawmaker, back in 1971, had high hopes. As it was to be managed jointly, it could become a mutual insurance company which could be expected to help solve the problems of small and medium-sized firms and to provide greater potential for the rights of individuals. Jacques Delors, commonly known as the "Father of the Law", said of the new institution that "the training insurance fund is more than a technique for implementation and administration; it should be a prototype for effective consultation in both planning and execution".

At the beginning of 1976, what results can be claimed for these institutions? First of all, what have been the trends in their numbers, resources, and numbers of workers affected?

By 1 June 1973 forty-three funds had been approved by the Prime Minister (9); they were divided as follows: 10 at firm level, 10 at department level, 6 regional and 17 national. Approximately 37000 firms and 2,000,000 workers were covered by these funds.

Today there are 64 funds representing 50,100 firms, distributed as follows according to size:

	fewer than 10 workers	from 10 to 49	from 50 to 499	500 and +	Total
Number of member firms	8,800	32,800	8,100	400	50,100

The number of member firms, thus, has risen by 35% in 18 months, and the number of workers covered has grown from 2,000,000 to 2,500,000.

This increase in the number of member firms is accompanied by a very substantial increase - 97% - in resources, which amounted to 288 million francs in 1974, enabling 60,300 workers - or 86% more than in 1973 - to attend training courses. The hours of training financed were, as desired, devoted to maintaining and refreshing knowledge: 83% of all courses.

Three points should be mentioned to qualify this otherwise positive result:

The funds are still having difficulty spending the sums collected. In April 1974 they had taken in almost 300 million francs for 1972 and 1973 and had spent only 100 million. Actual expenditure for 1974 amounted to 170 millions or a consumption rate of nearly 80%, but this average figure hides considerable disparity among funds.

Secondly, the distribution of trainees according to occupational category proves no different from that observed for participation-financed training. The funds have not, therefore, been particularly helpful to the categories least involved in training.

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(9) J M Luttringer, "Les institutions de la Formation Permanente", Armand Colin, Collection Formathèque.

Above all, the joint administration of the funds, and the attempt to make them function mutually have not always been successful. Moreover, joint administration was by no means universally desired; both management and certain trade union executives, who did not believe in the reality of the system, were worried by it.

A study (10) of some of the "big" funds seems to indicate that the joint administration principle is not always carried out in practice, that setting up the administrative apparatus is costly and also removes the seat of decision far from the workers' representatives, who are inadequately equipped in comparison with the largely management-appointed administrators. These doubts as to the reality of the joint administration idea give rise to other doubts relating to the mutual aspect of the arrangement, which, under the circumstances, may end in the subordination of small and medium-sized firms to larger ones.

The joint employment committees have not been consistent in performing the role assigned to them under the 1969 National Employment Agreement and the 1970 Training Agreement, which was to maintain an up-to-date list of classes, courses or sessions deemed, on the basis of criteria defined by them, to be of vocational interest.

The first task of the joint employment committees was to define the criteria for course approval; in some fields this took a considerable length of time. The chemical industries' committees, for example, still had reached no final conclusions in 1974. In the commerce industries the partners were unable to agree upon criteria; and in the glass industry the trade union organisations were unable to reach unanimity.

Once the criteria were defined, they had to be applied to the training possibilities offered. In 1975 some committees - such as the clothing industries' - still had published no list of approved courses, and for one category such as the building trades, whose list of approved courses forms a large and frequently revised catalogue there are many others which have approved too few courses and covered neither the full range of occupations in their category nor all the regions in the country.

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(10) Granger, "Les FAF, organisation et fonctionnement, quelques exemples"; Actualité de la Formation Permanente No. 17, April-May 1975.

IV. THE DARKER SIDE OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF FIRM-ORGANISED TRAINING

We shall say no more of the shortcomings already analysed, namely the lack of recourse to individual educational leave and the weaknesses of the consultation system. Here we shall look at the disparity of implementation in relation to size of firm, the distribution of trainees by occupational category, and the relative unsuitability of training opportunities.

1. Disparity of implementation of continuous vocational training in relation to size of firm:

Firms of	10-19 workers	20-49 workers	50-499 workers	500-1999 workers	2000 and + workers	all firms
Number of firms	46,500	45,000	24,000	2,000	500	118,000
Total wages paid (in millions of F)	17,579	38,500	88,568	52,576	103,420	300,703
Expenditure effectively disbursed	116	329	1,019	770	2,658	4,892
Rate of participation	0.66%	0.85%	1.15%	1.46%	2.57%	1.63%
Payments to the Treasury	67	89	55	5	1	217
Number of workers	640,000	1,422,000	3,211,000	1,784,000	3,205,000	10,262,000
Number of trainees	22,000	84,000	392,000	324,000	948,000	1,770,000
Percentage of workers having attended a course	3.4%	5.9%	12.2%	18.2%	29.6%	17.2%

The gap between the participation rate of small firms and the national rate - which is an average - is significant. Even more so is the gap between the training opportunities offered to a worker in a firm employing 2,000 people - 29.6% and those open to a worker in a firm employing 20 people - 3.4%. The finance bill appendix observes that the rate increase has been approximately the same in all categories of firms (0.14% on average), which means that progress in small firms has been relatively greater. But it must also be observed that per capita expenditure in firms employing fewer than 20 workers currently stands at 181 F, whereas for firms with over 2,000 workers it is 829 F. This gap, already wide, will widen yet further if participation rates increase at the same speed in large and small firms.

A second aspect of the disparity based on firm size is that in small firms the distribution of trainees by occupational category deviates from the national average and not in a satisfactory direction.

Firms of	10-19 workers	20-49 workers	50-499 workers	500-1999 workers	2000 + workers	All firms
Unskilled and semi-skilled workers	11%	13%	18%	20%	16%	17%
Skilled workers	41%	43%	42%	40%	46%	44%
Foremen, senior technicians,	19%	22%	22%	22%	26%	24%
Engineers and executive staff	29%	22%	18%	18%	12%	15%
Total number of trainees	22,000	84,000	392,000	324,000	948,000	1,770,000

Thus opportunities for training, which were already limited for workers in small firms, become virtually non-existent for those in the least favoured categories. Of the 640,000 workers in firms employing fewer than 20 persons, 22,000 undergo training but only 2,420 of those are unskilled or semi-skilled workers.

2. Persons receiving training:

Which occupational category benefits most from training? "The distribution of trainees among the various occupational categories has altered considerably since 1972. The relative share going to engineers and executives and to technicians, has dwindled whilst that of skilled workers has grown appreciably, but the percentage of unskilled and semi-skilled workers has remained virtually unchanged", although with a downward tendency.

	1972		1973		1974	
Unskilled semi-skilled workers	191,000	18%	256,000	17%	299,000	17%
Skilled and qualified staff	376,000	36%	612,000	41%	781,000	44%
Foremen, senior technicians and technicians	282,000	27%	371,000	25%	421,000	24%
Engineers and executive staff	201,000	19%	251,000	17%	269,000	15%
Total	1,050,000	100%	1,490,000	100%	1,770,000	100%

When these percentages are compared with the overall number of jobs in the different categories in France, the average figure of 1 out of 8 employed persons undergoing training loses a good deal of its meaning.

On this point, we quote the well-documented report presented to the Economic and Social Council by Mr Robert Cheramy(11) Mr Robert Cheramy (11): "Everyone agreed at the outset that one of the consequences of the new machinery should be to restore the balance in this distribution (among occupational categories), hitherto more favourable to the highest categories. Everyone now agrees that there has been a tendency to increase the share of the workers, although mostly of highly skilled workers. The point at issue refers only to the extent and meaning of this variation. Some maintain that there has been no real change from the previous situation: training continues to be available primarily to those whose initial education was successful; and at the same time continuous training is not

(11) R Cheramy, Report on continuous vocational training on behalf of the Labour and Vocational Relations Section, Economic and Social Council, June 1975.

playing the role of 'second chance' intended for it by its promoters on behalf of those who, for whatever reason - most often social - were unable to take advantage of the first chance which the authorities' education and basic training policy was incapable of offering them ... Others contend that it is impossible to ignore the importance to the firm of continuous training for its senior staff, especially the technicians".

3. The relative unsuitability of training opportunities:

Private training facilities have adjusted to the new arrangements as best they could. It has often been said that training bodies were growing like mushrooms, and sometimes like toadstools. The new control law, the 'helping hand' to Mr Delong's liberalism, was enacted partly to counter the unjustified expense and unsatisfactory quality of some training initiatives. Almost unanimously, the Delong report says, firm managers 'complain of being subjected to such publicity pressure by training bodies that they sometimes lead to rejection', But the real unsuitability lies rather in the nature and level of the training offered.

The private sector, largely a heritage of the former refresher courses for executives and engineers, is still finding it difficult to design and present training facilities for lower levels. The desire to remain master of the training policy contributes further to the unsuitability of the offerings, with the result that employers are tending to turn to training organised by the firm itself. But this is not the favourite of either workers or their representatives, who would like to see the main part played by public organisations; and the public organisations are not yet in a position to meet their demands fully.

Public training facilities consist mainly of the state schools, universities and adult vocational training associations' centres.

The state school system has been active in adult education for a long time, the CNAM (Conservatoire National des Arts et Métiers) and its associated regional centres have been teaching thousands of adults for years. In 1973, 400 social advancement courses were given to 100,000 trainees. But they all take place outside working hours, and this older form of social promotion has yet to be harmonised with the new arrangements. Coming within the provisions of the Act, there are also 750 secondary and technical schools grouped in some 250 units called GRETA, which are responsible for providing courses coming under the firms' compulsory participation scheme. The universities also run 17 million francs' worth of state-financed long-term promotion and re-training courses, and other courses for which 15 million francs are paid out of firm participation funds. But the Ministry of Education's share of employer-financed continuous training amounts to no more than 4% of the total; in other words, it is by no means the 'main part'.

The adult vocational training association plays an important role, with 3,600 teachers and some 130 centres scattered throughout the country. But it is now struggling with the problems facing the state as a result of the economic crisis: it must choose between training the out-of-work, whose numbers are steadily swelling, and offering continuous training for those who are still employed. The choice is apparently going to unemployed, and to the youngest among them in particular. At this point, the association is taking too small a share in the development of continuous training as provided for by the agreement and act.

V. NEW TRENDS IN STATE INTERVENTION

The economic crisis is pushing state intervention in a direction which is not that of the original conception. To be sure, the links necessarily uniting job and training have always been acknowledged. But continuous training was not conceived as either a remedy for unemployment or a mere extension of basic education; yet over half the trainees in courses financed by public funds in 1974 were less than 25 years old and the figures for 1975 will undoubtedly be much higher. The finance bill appendix says that now more than ever, continuous training must help to solve employment problems whether those of young people in search of their first job or those who are out of work and must find different jobs.

With regard to the misgivings to which this trend may give rise, and the need to improve the machinery that has been installed while at the same time maintaining its original objectives, we shall quote the Cheramy report.

"It therefore seems that the main object is to emerge unscathed from the difficulties which the economic recession is now imposing upon continuous vocational training - to ensure that in the course of this period, continuous vocational training does not lose its identity, that the workers come to see it - especially the young ones - as no more than a weapon in the fight against unemployment, and one which cannot render it painless. It is therefore important, regardless of the present trend in training, to set up and try out immediately the desired improvements which will enable it to resume its forward course hereafter, especially as industrial redeployment makes an effort in this direction essential, and the improvement of living conditions (and hence of working conditions in particular), now more timely than ever, is another incitement to the same end. And lastly, there is the fact that expenditure on training is an investment which is universally acknowledged to be non-inflationary - on the contrary - and which should accordingly be given priority in a policy of economic revival."

PART III

INITIAL RESULTS OF AGREEMENTS ON PAID EDUCATIONAL LEAVE IN ITALY

by

Gino Martinoli

The purpose of this paper is to collate the main results of agreements on paid educational leave for certain categories of workers in Italy.

The first move in this direction came from the metalworkers who, under their last collective agreement (1973), secured a certain number of hours (150) over a three-year period, for the "improvement of their education" in public or recognised institutions.

Subsequently (and in different ways), other categories of workers also secured forms of paid educational leave; but it was the metalworkers who led the way (with compulsory school attendance up to the age of 14) and promoted the introduction of classes for workers.

The opening months of 1974 saw the start of the first experiment, the second came a year later and the third, which is still in progress, towards the end of 1975.

For the first experiment, CENSIS ("Centro Studi Investimenti Sociali") in Rome conducted an in-depth survey on workers, teachers, structures, organisation and costs, on which the present paper is based, on behalf of the Ministry of Public Education.

I. Origins of the scheme

The introduction in Italy of paid educational leave is something quite new, particularly in the form it has taken up to now, namely:

- serving a purpose totally independent of production and its requirements (for which firms ran their own courses);
- serving a collective purpose (rather than an individual one like the leave for student-workers which continues to operate).

The origin of the scheme can (and probably must) be retraced to previous training opportunities in connection with leave for student-workers which, over the last few years, has gradually been incorporated in state agreements and regulations as a result of the pressure of demand for education based increasingly on cultural motivation rather than occupational mobility.

However, in a wider context, two factors are very important: the issue of the right to study and the involvement of trade unions in spheres not strictly related to firms but to social conditions outside (in this case, schools and educational change).

It is also probable that the introduction of paid educational leave was influenced by foreign schemes (French in particular) but what is clear from the "historical" point of view is that this scheme stems essentially from instigation on the part of leaders of trade union organisations rather than from an explicit demand from the working masses.

Indeed, this point was included in the 1973 Trade Union Agreement without consultation with the workers and, what is more, with pretty vague and ill-defined provisions for its implementation.

The only fairly clear feature is the exclusion from the agreement of any vocational training and job requirement connotations, the emphasis being placed on general cultural objectives instead.

After the signing of the Agreement, there was a great deal of discussion both inside and outside trade union organisations among intellectuals, in the first instance, rather than workers as such.

Little by little, certain guidelines were established regarding objectives and practical implementation. More specifically, this meant that:

- once the general cultural nature of the proposed educational schemes had been established, it was decided that the prime objective should be completion of basic education because of the strong potential demand for it in firms: in 1973, the percentage figures for workers in industry without the lower secondary school certificate were as follows:

  . 68% in the North
  . 74.3% in Central Italy
  . 81.5% in the South;

  and, logically enough, it was decided to look to the state educational avenues (to provide a basic level of education for those deprived of proper educational opportunities in the past) but also to establish a link with the educational system with a view to its reform (1).

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(1) In practical terms, to introduce a flexibility "input" in traditional structures; in political terms, to help to gear the educational system to society.

II. Agreements and demands of the trade union movement

1. Basic criteria

There are two reference positions which indicate the origins of lower secondary education courses for workers:

- the first, and broader one, is linked with the type of role which trade unions have gradually assumed in recent years - a role which is no longer confined to economic demands and pay claims, security of employment and working conditions, but has taken on a further dimension going beyond the work sphere to include social relations outside firms;

- a second, more immediate one, which derives from: (a) the securing by metalworkers (and other categories) of a certain amount of paid leave for educational activities and (b) a demand submitted to the Ministry of Public Education for the provision of courses specifically for workers.

In fact, this right to education is not entirely new in the history of national employment agreements in view of the gradual introduction of paid educational leave in recent years. In the case of the metalworkers, the agreement stipulates that workers are entitled to paid leave in the form of a "time bonus" available to all wage-earners over a three-year period and to be spent in public or recognised institutions, in order to improve their education within the framework of the activity of the firm.

The "time bonus" is calculated at the start of each 3-year period and is arrived at by multiplying 10 hours per year by 3 and by the total number of wage-earners employed in the firm or production unit at that date, subject to subsequent modification of this "time bonus" according to changes in the number of wage-earners (for example, in a firm with 200 wage-earners, the 3-year "time bonus" would be as follows: 200 x 10 x 3 = 6,000 hours).

Any worker can claim a maximum of 150 hours of paid educational leave per three-year period but may also take them in a single year.

To obtain this paid leave, workers have to show that the course they intend to take involves at least double the number of hours they claim as paid leave (for example, in order to

obtain 50 hours of paid leave, the course must be of a total duration of at least 100 hours). This means that the worker must be prepared to sacrifice at least half the number of hours taken up by the course out of his own free time. The contract however stipulates certain restrictions in the use of the "time bonus":

a. Should the (annual) number of applicants exceed the 3-year "time bonus" by one-third, the management and the works' council, when considering workers' applications to attend courses, must establish objective assessment criteria to select candidates for paid leave, such as age, seniority and the nature of the courses.

b. The number of workers who may be off work at the same time for the purpose of attending courses must not exceed 2% of the total pay-roll at 1 September each year; in any event normal production rates must always be maintained. Lastly, the Agreement lays down that during the period of attendance at courses, firms will make monthly payments proportionate to the number of hours of leave utilised; it is understood that such payments are strictly conditional upon regular attendance at courses.

The differences between the conditions of the metalworkers' and the textile workers' Agreements in respect of paid leave are glaring.

Metalworkers are required to devote at least an equal number of hours of their own free time to courses for which they are granted 150 hours of paid leave. Textile workers, however, are entitled to 120 hours' leave to attend courses, of which only 40 are normally paid (ie one-third paid, as against two-thirds unpaid).

Furthermore, whereas in the metalworkers' sector, 2% of a firm's workers may be absent simultaneously to attend courses, in the textile workers' sector, 2.5% of wage-earners employed in a firm at 1 October of each year may exercise the right to study, but this is over the whole year.

Metalworkers are thus favoured all along the line compared to textile workers with the result that in the first year of the experiment, there were 16 times more metalworkers attending courses than textile workers.

As the experiment goes on, the occupational distribution of participants is changing, with greater numbers coming from the ranks of hospital and catering industry workers and also of housewives and the unemployed (especially in the South).

2. Guidelines

Taking this right in itself, not as a potential source of education, but as an opportunity to put specific and well-defined objectives into practice, it may be noted that agreements do not (except in rare cases) delineate the aims of the "time bonus" but leave the choice of objectives and educational structures to the autonomy of the trade union organisation.

As far as the general aims of the 150 hours are concerned, the main initial guidelines (based on gradually acquired experience) which emerge are as follows:

a. It is a means of cultural advancement for the collective use of workers (and hence a significant move towards self-management), leaving behind mere individual motivations under a strategy for the promotion of equality, even on the cultural plane; priority was therefore given to the objective of the completion of basic education:

   - as a step towards greater equality among workers through the acquisition of a basic educational grounding;

   - as a means of strengthening marginal groups in the labour market through the acquisition of an educational qualification which is today undoubtedly regarded as a minimum requirement in the working world.

   - as a substantial aid towards bridging the dividing line between manual work and intellectual work by pioneering an experimental link between education and work of a different type for the benefit of those who have slipped through the educational net.

b. It strengthens the ability to keep a collective check on working conditions and production processes, through a type of training which is not subordinated to firms' requirements.

c. It is an opportunity for workers to make themselves felt in the state educational system by a mass return to "school", to contribute effectively to the gearing of this system to society and to alter cultural structures by bringing about changes in content and method, with the power of influencing their childrens' education too through eventual reform (moving towards greater flexibility);

d. Lastly, it is a means of uniting workers, not only among their different categories but also, and above all, in order to tackle the common problems of their own social and economic conditions and, together, find solutions to them.

3. Demands concerning organisation of courses

From the organisational point of view, the demands of trade union organisations may be summarised as follows (in relation to basic education):

a. courses to be held in state schools with teachers paid by the state;

b. no fees to be charged;

c. curricula to be drawn up in consultation with the participants themselves, using an approach based on the analysis of conditions on the shop floor and the living and working conditions of all course participants;

d. final examinations to be marked by a board composed of the course tutors themselves, the latter being in a position to recognise the specific nature of the curricula and the educational methods selected.

Above all, emphasis was placed on the use of state schools, firstly, to avoid educational schemes within the 150-hour framework being run in some kind of "second-rate" schools, and secondly, in order to establish an initial link between educational and production structures.

It was obvious, however, that the dividing line between such structures could not be bridged by putting workers straight into lower secondary school classes and that, furthermore, there were features of traditional schooling which conflicted with some of the fundamental demands of the trade union organisations: to take but two examples, the length of studies

and the modes of establishing curricula. Initially (in the case of basic education) the idea was that after the introductory experiments of incorporating workers in the educational system, teachers with experience of both types of teaching could be transferred back to this system with its "normal" function of educating the young in order to introduce greater flexibility in ordinary schools. In certain documents, trade union organisations demand the selection not only of "state" teachers paid by the state but also of teachers who alternate teaching on the 150-hour courses with teaching children of school age, with normal hours and no overtime. One of the main pioneering features of this experiment is the move towards self-management of education, that is to say, in the fact that the curricula are to be established by joint agreement between students and teachers in the light of an analysis of the actual social and occupational circumstances of the participants. This approach, which seeks to transcend traditional teaching methods, calls for special teacher training of an essentially methodological nature, based on an ability to run decentralised activities.

It should also be noted that trade union organisations have submitted a series of specific demands relating to other educational levels (higher secondary, university) at which "150 hour" courses may be run.

At the higher secondary level, their proposals were initially concerned with suitable courses to meet the new demand for basic education rather than with the acquisition of more and more advanced educational qualifications. This programme has to be seen in the context of the egalitarian drive embodied in the "150 hour" demand, which comes within the more general objective of a single structure and ties in with the trade union line that, in collective agreements, preference should not be given to diplomas as a criterion of occupational mobility. Priority was given, first, to courses providing basic education and, second, to university courses and seminars, while the provision of higher secondary courses was held to be relatively less important.

However, the trade union organisations have started to tackle the problem of student-workers undergoing higher secondary studies by submitting a detailed series of demands to the Ministry of Public Education. This is because:

- the number of workers pursuing higher secondary school studies is mounting continually,

- private, profit-making evening institutes are on the increase and absorb the majority of student-workers (since they are the only establishments which offer "crash" courses), thereby constituting the only structures able to fulfil the demands of workers who want to study.

In the case of the demand for courses confined to a single subject and for special seminars, trade union organisations have placed more emphasis on the universities. In fact, the greater elasticity offered by university structures and the greater margins of freedom enjoyed by teachers in the preparation of their curricula make it easier to organise seminars and courses on themes such as, for example, industrial medicine, the organisation of work or the history of the working movement, in which either "normal" students or workers can take part, with the curricula possibly based on the direct experience of some of the participants.

On the basis of these guidelines, the CGIL-CISL-UIL Federation, in conjunction with the teachers' metal, textile, timber, ceramic and commerce (office and shop) workers' trade unions, wrote to the Minister of Public Education asking him to issue instructions for educational structures to be used (as from the academic year 1973/74) for permanent education activities and in particular, activities connected with the use of the "time bonus" for study secured in the agreements. Appended to their letter was a memorandum summarising the following demands:

- courses lasting a minimum of 100 hours and a maximum of 450 hours, depending on the cultural level of the participants, should be held in lower secondary schools for the completion of basic education;

- these courses should be open to anyone over the age of 16,

- at the start of the courses, the curricula should be discussed by the teachers and participants;

- at the end of courses, participants should take an examination, based on the curriculum so devised to obtain an officially recognised secondary certificate and boards of examiners should be composed of course tutors,

- permanent education courses and seminars should be held in higher secondary schools and universities on general educational subjects and themes concerning the living and working conditions of participants, to improve their technical and scientific knowledge,

- these courses should last between 30 and 120 hours a year and be open to anyone over the age of 16, regardless of previous educational qualifications;

- at the end of the courses, an attendance certificate should be issued to participants specifying the purpose and duration of the course;

- such courses should also be open, on an experimental basis, to students normally enrolled in the schools or institutes in which the courses are held, although priority should be given to student workers;

- all courses (whether compensatory or special subject courses) should be free of charge and the Ministry of Public Education should contribute to the costs incurred by schools and institutes out of funds allocated to school budgets for course management and teaching material;

- teaching staff should be drawn from provincial grades, with the option of employing, at their request, state teachers for whom full- or part-time replacements would have to be found;

- non-teaching staff should be drawn from officially recognised provincial grades;

- educational authorities should agree on schemes and their operational guidelines with trade union organisations at provincial, district and local levels.

Naturally, as the experiment proceeds, there is also a change of emphasis in demand. For example, the demand for state intervention at higher secondary level is mounting particularly from workers with a higher educational level who can derive direct and/or indirect benefits from it in terms of occupational mobility (eg hospital workers).

By the beginning of the third year of the experiment, the basic demands for state assistance nevertheless still centre on, first basic education and, second, university education (in an almost constant ratio of 10 to 1 based on the number of participants).

III. Background: the situation in out-of-school education

1. Educational needs of those sectors of the population on which the educational system has had a negligible impact

Action in connection with workers' paid educational leave has to be seen against a background in which educational opportunities:

a. first, are more readily available to young people: it is estimated that in Italy about 150 thousand million lire were spent in the public sector in 1972-73 on adult education, which is just over 3% of total public expenditure (by state and local authorities) on education and culture (base year 1973);

b. second, within those young student categories themselves, they tend to be more favourable for the higher social classes through explicit, as well as more serious and subtle implicit selection factors which result in students from the lower social strata being thrust out on a limb within the process of daily academic interaction; they are also biased towards the natural or acquired cultural background of the educator: this implicit selection process tends to result later in drop-outs, deviant behaviour and even the complete abandonment of studies.

Whereas a gradual rise is taking place in the intake of younger age-groups into the educational system, showing an increase in the student "mass" equalling 21.3% of the population and 63% of the working population, a situation still prevails whereby adults are excluded from the educational system, causing a gradual rift between the older (and middle) generations and the up-and-coming generations.

Table 1 Ratio between the student population and the working population

Year	Student population		Working population		% ratio between student population and working population
	thousands	% incidence among the total Italian population	thousands	% incidence among the total Italian population	
1952	6,786	14.3	19,577	41.2	34.7
1961	7,939	15.6	20,136	39.5	39.4
1975	11,864	21.3	18,898	34.0	62.8

Source: CENSIS, on the basis of ISTAT data.

The potential educational needs of the Italian population as revealed by the 1971 census data are still considerable: in 1971, 76.6% of the population over the age of 16 still had no lower secondary diploma. There are thus 37.3 million people (including 16 million without any elementary diploma) without this minimum level of education which is nowadays attained by 60-70% of young people (even though considerable geographic differences still persist with the Southern regions of the country lagging well behind).

Taking the case of the working population, it appears that in 1974, 63.9% still had no lower secondary school diploma, although there has been a slight improvement in recent years, while the proportion of wage-earners rose to 64.6% in the same year. In the case of the latter, it has to be said that the work force in Southern Italy and its off-shore islands, by comparison with the North, comprises a small proportion of workers with an intermediary level of education and a large number without the minimum level of education. The percentage figures in 1973 were as follows:

	South	North
- without lower secondary school diploma	73.6%	63.8%
- with only the lower secondary school diploma	13.4%	23.7%
- with a degree or doctorate	8.8%	9.5%

IV. Response from public authorities

1. Courses provided by the Ministry of Public Education

The response to the new demand for workers' education, in the case of the Ministry, took the following forms:

a. The establishment of a Technical Committee attached to the Ministry itself to keep a constant check on the progress of the experiment and carry out an immediate assessment of provisional results as they emerged.

b. Introduction of courses. These were started in 1974 in state secondary schools and based on a unit system (four classes = one unit), involving four courses with fewer than 25 pupils (aged 16) per course with four teachers and a timetable consisting of 16 hours per week. The courses last for one academic year only and consist of 350-450 hours of instruction, with a timetable arranged by agreement with those attending the courses.

766 courses were held in 1974 (of which 718 were run by the directorate of 1st level secondary education and 58, in the province of Rome, by the general directorate of popular education).

By 1975, the scheme had expanded considerably; the Ministry had almost tripled the number of courses, from 776 to 2036 (table 5) with a bigger allocation in the Centre and South of the country compared with the North, although the Centre eventually showed a slightly smaller increase in pupils than in the number of courses (cf. index nos. for the 3 areas in table 5).

In the current year (1976), the scheme shows a two-fold growth over the previous year and a five-fold growth compared with 1974, with distinct subsequent progress in the Centre and the South (cf. table 5).

The 718 courses held in the first year began at different times because of the commitments of teachers undergoing basic training.

However, in 1974, the starting date of courses (in over 80% of cases) was March/April (1).

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(1) January/February in the case of the second experiment (1975) and November/December 1975 in the case of the third (1976).

Table 5: State-run basic education courses and workers/participants according to region

REGIONS	Courses					Workers/Participants				
	1974 (2)	1975 (2)	1976	I N (1974) = 100) 1975	1976	1974	1975	1976 (1)	I N (1974 = 100) 1975	1976
Piedmont	168	360	456	214.3	271.4	3,030	5,955	9,120	196.5	301.0
Liguria	16	48	74	300.0	462.5	293	869	1,480	296.7	505.1
Lombardy	220	378	582	171.8	264.5	3,865	6,498	11,640	168.1	301.2
Trentino-Alto Adige	19	22	56	115.8	294.7	161	355	1.120	220.5	695.7
Veneto	50	128	204	256.0	408.0	810	2,530	4,080	312.3	503.7
Friuli-Venezia-Giulia	12	28	66	233.3	550.0	253	635	1,320	251.0	521.7
Emilia-Romagna	47	128	230	272.3	489.4	915	2,823	4,600	308.5	502.7
Marches	4	51	92	1,275.0	2,300.0	57	1,026	1,840	1,800.0	3,228.1
Tuscany	44	132	188	300.0	427.3	739	2,151	3,760	291.0	508.8
Umbria	-	60	68	-	-	-	984	1,360	-	-
Latium	90	260	374	289.0	415.6	2,023	6,016	7,480	297.4	369.7
Campania	54	172	428	318.5	792.6	1,007	3,737	8,560	371.1	850.0
Abruzzi	-	17	33	-	-	-	374	660	-	-
Molise	4	8	35	200.0	875.0	90	148	700	164.4	777.8
Basilicata	-	16	16	-	-	-	361	320	-	-
Apulia	24	73	214	304.2	891.7	528	1,469	4,280	278.2	810.6
Calabria	-	13	125	-	-	-	237	2,500	-	-
Sardinia	8	18	139	225.0	1,737.5	110	304	2,780	276.4	2,527.3
Sicily	16	124	342	775.0	2,137.5	356	2,318	6,840	651.1	1,921.3
North	532	1,092	1,668	205.3	313.5	3,327	19,665	33,360	210.8	357.7
Centre	138	503	722	364.5	523.2	2,819	10,177	14,440	361.0	512.2
South and islands	106	441	1,332	416.0	1,256.6	2,091	8,948	26,640	427.9	1,274.0

I N = index number

(1) Estimated on the basis of 20 pupils per course.

(2) Nearly 3 months after the start of the course.

SOURCE/CENSIS

The units, 94.3% of which are in state secondary schools, seem to have stood up fairly well from the organisational point of view; there has been a small number of "shut-downs" (in nearly 10% of cases, the units concerned contained under 4 classes).

On the other hand, difficulties have arisen over timetables because of the different requirements of workers (particularly shift workers), and in some cases because of "opposition" on the part of firms (reported by approximately a fifth of those interviewed).

There has been a constant general fall-off in attendance after enrolment: about 25% (approximately 3 months after the start of courses), according to sample figures (in the current year, however, the figure appears to have declined to about 15%).

c. On the subject of contents and methods, it should be made clear that circumstantial factors have had a profound influence on methods of establishing curricula.

These factors, which were the premise to the scheme, are in fact partly substantive (new demands and requirements of society) and partly formal (backlog of previous deficiencies, novelty of the scheme) and may be summarised as follows:

- collective demand from the working movement for a non-traditional type of education which, while calling for the introduction of secondary education courses, is also the expression of cultural tension geared to the acquisition of qualifications which conventional secondary schools are unable to provide;

- the presence in schools of adults with a wide experience of life and work behind them - not adolescents straight from elementary school;

- disappearance of the narrower type of course, thanks to changes in schooling in which formal and disciplinary aspects are becoming secondary or disappearing and are superseded by other factors such as age, working experience, motivation and active participation in classroom work by "pupils".

- cultural and educational deficiency of adult education in Italy, which aggravates the already unsatisfactory situation in traditional secondary education in terms of teacher training and lack of proper educational, methodological and examination resources.

All this, combined with the educational objectives of the scheme, which, to comply with the demand of the trade union organisations, must not be geared to occupational considerations but to critical cultural development in a context of reality, has made it obvious that:

- it is impossible to use conventional secondary school curricula;

- there must be no question of lowering standards so as to make it possible to acquire an "easy" diploma (this idea is rightly turned down by the trade union organisations);

- it is necessary to adopt a fresh educational approach suited to this new type of pupil, in terms of content, teaching, working methodology and assessment of results (experiments in self-management);

As regards the establishment of curricula, it was decided to adopt somewhat flexible types of formula so as to attach greater importance to a peripheral, rather than a centralised, approach which would have been in complete contradiction with the experimental nature of the scheme in the totally new situation for all those involved. This means that it is more important to adopt specific methods of establishing and monitoring curricula than to define their content.

In practice, the procedure adopted was as follows:

i. to provide general guidelines;

ii. to demonstrate, during the preliminary teacher training course, the decentralised technique for drawing up curricula;

iii. to induce teachers themselves to prepare practical sample curricula and/or work plans based on proposals discussed during the course and existing material and examples of this nature.

Each course comprises 4 teaching units according to discipline or on inter-disciplinary lines, each occupying 4 hours per week. According to Ministry instructions, the curriculum must be built up in relationship with:

i. the background circumstances of the pupils on the basis of which practical educational objectives can be determined;

ii. the past and present experience of the participants in relation to work in school and in society, with a discussion and a constant reminder of the significance of the inclusion of adults in basic education courses;

iii. the new importance which schools are now assuming in matters of occupational training; studying and working experience, the new demand for education on the part of workers; the right of adults to study; permanent education prospects.

The four teaching units are as follows:

i. inter-disciplinary unit: mathematics and elementary science;

ii. inter-disciplinary unit: geography, civics, history;

iii. inter-disciplinary unit: Italian

iv. inter-disciplinary unit: a foreign language.

From the organisational point of view, the factors which cause the greatest difficulties are:

- funds for the purchase of material which, in the case of the state, have proved insufficient, or arrived late, or in some cases, have even given rise to disputes in the host school about their utilisation;

- ready access to school equipment (chairs, teaching material etc), stemming from "institutional opposition" to a new service. In some cases, access to such equipment is given with reluctance rather than accepted and encouraged;

- co-ordination of teaching staff; this has been conducted in varied and almost "autonomous" ways by the various institutions which provided their

initial training and, as a result, has often depended on the initiative and needs of the teachers and on the "drive" of the institution responsible for their training. The results in terms of effective inter-disciplinary work and research, quite apart from considerable regional variations, have not been conspicuously successful. Of course there have been other contributory factors linked with the cultural background of the service or that of the teachers; it has to be remembered that both are more accustomed to a routine educational pattern rather than to projects and research, although these must form a part of the objectives and modernising endeavours of the scheme;

- lastly, it has to be remembered that the tendency to resent "outsiders" has sometimes been evident in the training institutes themselves, whose role was in fact remarkably ambiguous, governed more often by their readiness to co-operate than by a specific formal authorisation which the Ministry was slow in issuing.

d. Recruitment and selection of teaching staff. For the recruitment of teaching staff for the 150 hour courses, instructions were given in a ministerial circular that teachers should be drawn from grades employed at the 1st level of higher secondary education. Teaching posts were allocated, in order of priority, to applicants in ordinary provincial grades who were not in permanent posts.

Posts were initially intended to be permanent but in fact were for a specific period only; because of this, provision was made for temporary supply staff.

The objectives of teacher training for the 150 hour courses were discussed and defined by the Technical Committee in February 1974. They were closely aligned to the recommendations which the Technical Committee had made concerning courses for workers.

It was decided to avoid putting forward ready-made plans and curricula in the training period and instead to try to enable teachers to devise a secondary course for workers which would not be a mere repetition of conventional secondary education but would ensure real participation by workers in their

own training process by making them establish a relevance between their actual circumstances and the training process itself.

Lastly, work was to be conducted on an effective inter-disciplinary basis.

Three objectives emerged from this:

i. to make teachers capable of working out courses, taking account of the need for strict reference to workers' experience;

ii. to make teachers capable of working in units;

iii. to provide teachers with functional contents in both these spheres, in keeping with the context and the methods employed.

The aim of the courses was:

- first and foremost, to devise a working method in which preference was accorded to an inter-disciplinary approach, and workers' actual experience was used as a starting point;

- to give teachers certain basic information concerning the 150 hour scheme, the history and problems of the working class, the problems of the areas in which they would be called upon to work and recent Italian social history.

All this was to be done by group work so as to enable teachers to learn to tackle a problem as a whole and build up a work programme around it.

Teacher training courses are provided by the following centres:

- ISFOL (Istituto per lo Sviluppo della Formazione Professionale dei Lavoratori), for central regions of Italy;

- the Technical Committee at the "Provveditorato agli Studi di Milano", for Lombardy;

- OPPI (Organizzazione per la Preparazione Permanente degli Insegnanti), for Emilia;

- the "Istituto di Pedagogia" at the University of Turin, for Piedmont and Liguria;

- the "Departimento disocializzazione" at the University of Trent, for the three Venezias;

- FORMEZ (Centro di Formazione e Studi per il Mezzogiorno), for Southern Italy.

The teachers' timetable consists of 24 hours a week subdivided into:

- 16 hours of actual classes;
- 8 hours for inter-disciplinary activities, co-ordination and preparation of teaching material.

Teacher training for the successive experiments was entrusted to different "Provveditorati" which arranged retraining courses (an initial course plus refresher activities during the year) on a provincial (or, at most, inter-provincial) basis.

e. As regards non-teaching staff, problems arose in connection with the "bidelli" (school porters) and secretarial staff; in the latter instance, the problem of excessive work was resolved by authorising the employment of secretarial staff to work for several units (one for every 300 students). In the case of the porters, a similar solution was adopted (one porter for up to three courses, two porters for over three courses). These solutions prompt a few reflections on the problem of the "global timetable" to maximise the use of school structures.

In the case of teachers, the main problems stem from:

- the system of recruitment (according to grades in secondary schools),
- the period of recruitment (after the start of the school year);
- their consequent youth and lack of professional experience;
- their inexperience in the adult education sector in particular but, above all, their total lack of working experience outside schools.

Pathological factors (resignations, absenteeism etc) have been less in evidence among secondary school teachers, on average, than among others. More specifically:

- a high rate of resignations was evident at the start of the scheme;
- a particularly high rate of maternity leave was recorded (again, compared with teachers in ordinary secondary schools).

f. Lastly, from the financial point of view, it should be noted that the scheme has proved more economic than ordinary secondary schooling, mainly owing to the reduction of teaching staff and also the concentration of the three terms normally provided in ordinary schools into a single study period. Of course, these considerations cannot be regarded as having a definitive validity but they may be taken as an indication of an attempt to by-pass certain long-established standards and routine patterns (the large number of teachers employed in ordinary secondary schools, division into classes instead of units etc).

A final point should be made in connection with state financial assistance to promote the right to study. This takes the form of:

- first, expenditure predominantly on teaching material,

- second, financial contributions, which vary a good deal from region to region and may be as much as 453 million lire for state courses alone but do not apply at all to regions with special statutes (Trentino and Alto Adige, excluded because of their special autonomous status which enables them to obtain assistance from the two provinces of Trent and Bolzano) where the state is still responsible for the social sector (including education costs).

In the latter instances, the only assistance was that of the Ministry, to the tune of 100,000 lire per course, within the limits set out above.

g. Final stages of the course. The first experiment in workers' courses was wound up over the period September/December 1974 in accordance with provisions laid down in a ministerial circular.

The concluding stages of courses are an important time both from the formal point of view (acquisition of the secondary school diploma) and the substantive point of view (final assessment of course participants, units, and the experiment as a whole).

In the event, the ministerial circular was only issued at the end of September, reducing in some cases the minimum time needed to carry out the preliminary phase of the final operation.

In addition, there was a certain amount of "resistance" evident in the submission of documentation concerning the work which had been done. This was primarily due to:

- the subsequent work involved which may have seemed very complex to those familiar with more traditional teaching methods;

- the fear that the final product might be used by ministerial authorities as a means of checking on tax liability;

- the difficulty of soliciting, maintaining and promoting exchange of information and the necessary technical assistance, on the part of teacher training institutions, for the purpose of compiling a final report on each course;

- the reluctance of participants to disseminate, through bureaucratic channels, the fruits of collective work and drive, there was a feeling that it might be advisable to safeguard the independent planning of subsequent courses by participants and their trade union organisations.

However, this still leaves a considerable amount of material which calls for a careful analysis in order to define the concrete lines which emerge from it more closely.

As regards the examination as such, it seems that in some cases, a sort of "examination atmosphere" on the most traditional of academic lines was in fact reintroduced. This feature, linked with the direct and indirect experience of those involved (students, teachers, directors) received normative backing from the monitoring procedures laid down in the ministerial circular (the emphasis on ad hoc assessment rather than assessment of work done throughout the year and also on the individual work produced by each student, regardless of any previous group research work, are two outstanding examples).

The inclusion of an examiner who was not involved in the experiment seems to have accentuated the academic nature of the operation.

However, from the formal point of view, the results were certainly positive, especially in comparison with the failure rate of candidates in ordinary examinations (99% of candidates from the 150 hour courses gained their diplomas as against 75% in ordinary examinations).

Comparisons between the pass figures and the number of participants at the beginning of courses give an idea of the "drop-out" rate over the year. In fact, the proportion of pupils who attended the courses but failed the examination is extremely small.

2. Other schemes

In addition to the courses organised by the Ministry for the completion of basic education, there are courses organised independently by regions, local institutions, a number of secondary schools and certain universities. Details are given in table 6 below.

Table 6 Non-Ministry "150 hour" courses and seminars

Organisers	Number of seminars		Number of students	
	1974	1975	1974	1975
Valle d'Aosta	5	20	100 (2)	400 (2)
Lombardy	91	113	1,228	1,695 (2)
Municipality of Bologna	18	25	370	500 (2)
Universities	28 (1)	89	1,361	4,000 (2)
2nd-level secondary schools	3	11	90 (2)	330 (2)
TOTAL	145	231	3,209	5,777

(1) Approximate data.

(2) CENSIS estimates.

Whereas the courses organised by regions and local institutions were for the most part designed for the completion of a basic education (except in Lombardy where, in addition to those listed in table 5, there were 13 courses in 1974 for "cultural enrichment and occupational advancement", with 169 participants), those organised by universities and secondary schools were of a more traditional kind. In the case of the former, in particular, it should be noted that their schemes still rely, on the one hand, on the basic "demand" expressed by workers' trade union organisations and, on the other, on individual teachers (or

groups of teachers) who have organised educational activities for workers at universities (or in upper secondary schools) in response to an actual and/or latent demand on the part of trade union organisations.

In the first year of the scheme (1974), out of a total of 16 universities involved in the experiment, only three were in Central Italy (Florence, Macerata, Ancona), all the others were in the North. None was in the South.

As regards the contents of the courses, it appears that economics was most in demand, followed by subjects relating to occupational questions.

From the point of view of method, a uniform pattern seems to have been adopted, as follows:

- presentation of subjects by one or more "experts",
- group work on the subjects in question,
- preparation of a "research" project to enlist the active participation of the workers.

Although the practical plan of such courses seems sound enough, it appears that their results fell short in many cases, of the organisers' expectations. One of the main reasons for this was the relatively "independent" lines of the courses in relation to the working experience of participants.

Problems arose in connection with the location and timing of seminars. Usually seminars were held in universities, once or twice a week, with the following exceptions:

- Modena: crash-course lasting just over a month with five meetings a week (total: 15 hours).
- Turin: where a course was held at the "Lega FIAT Rivolta" to facilitate attendance by workers.

The presence of both students and workers led to a variety of responses and solutions owing to the very different teaching arrangements, and degrees of preparation and experience of the two types of participant.

Only marginal attempts were made to set up higher secondary education courses, and took the form of traditional types of seminar, comparable in the main to university courses. The real problem now, at this educational level, is:

- whether to encourage those who have completed their basic education through 150 hour courses to continue their studies (especially workers in the tertiary sector who can hope for greater occupational mobility by further studies),
- or to tackle the mighty problem of vocational training which is a very complex matter in the case of adult education (especially with workers already having experience of the world of work).

V. Teachers

Teachers employed in the first experiment in courses for workers tend to be much on a par with the average teacher, of whom a profile has been built up by sociological research, with one or two additional specific characteristics bound up with the circumstances of their recruitment or the unusual context in which they operated.

They consist largely of young teachers (32.3% under the age of 25 and 54% between the ages of 25 and 30), with women teachers in the same ratio as in ordinary secondary schools (just over 60%) but predominating (72%) in the younger age group. Over half came from middle-class backgrounds (56%), while the ratios of those from the two extremes of upper and lower classes were 15.8% and 16.4% respectively, which is much the same as the distribution, in terms of social background, of teachers in ordinary schools and university graduates in recent years.

Differences in social background produce, in many cases anyway, very interesting variations in approach. Teachers from working or lower middle class backgrounds are usually the most outspoken in their criticism of traditional school methods (especially contents and methods of assessment) and of the role of the teacher and are more interested in introducing new contents and in establishing a new type of teacher/pupil relationship. Probably their behaviour is also affected by the difficulties and obstacles they have encountered in the course of their own education.

Teachers from middle class backgrounds - ie the majority group - seem, as a whole, to have the most traditional approach both to the courses and their own role: this is due, at least largely, to the fact that they still regard the learning process as a means of gradual social and cultural advancement, teachers with an upper class background tend on the whole to reject traditional attitudes to school and the role of the teacher, in this they are similar to their colleagues with lower class backgrounds, however they differ from them in their demand for changes focused not so much on teaching content as on the slightly more subtle aspect of methodology.

Professionally speaking, they are university graduates, 70% of whom have taken their Ph.D. within the last two years (3.5% are still university students), do not have the agregation diploma, but often (in 2/3 of cases) have some teaching experience behind them, usually in upper or lower secondary schools (only 11% have had any experience in evening classes for workers).

Within the various inter-disciplinary teaching units, a fair degree of homogeneity is generally evident. More specifically:

- teachers in the 1st inter-disciplinary unit (mathematics and sciences), significantly enough the only group with a male majority, seem to have difficulty in breaking away from a traditional approach to teaching;

- teachers in the 2nd disciplinary unit (history - geography - civics) and the 3rd disciplinary unit (Italian) are usually the most open to new ideas and methods;

- teachers in the 4th inter-disciplinary unit (foreign languages) - who, another thing to remember, consist almost entirely of women - tend to have a middle-of-the-road approach in the sense that they are fairly open to new ideas in some sectors (especially in that of teaching methods) and more hidebound in others (eg contents and administration).

Generally speaking, the main points concerning the teaching staff taking part in the experimental secondary education courses for the completion of basic education may be summed up as follows:

a. the youth and lack of professional experience of the majority,

b. the relative inadequacy of their training before embarking on a scheme of such a novel and different kind,

c. the wide support among teachers for the general educational objectives of the trade union organisations;

d. the attempt (according to their statements, at least) to introduce new contents, methodologies, teaching material and assessment criteria made by a quite considerable proportion of teaching staff,

e. the difficulties encountered and revealed in the majority of cases in defining and organising their role as educators in a manner consistent with the innovatory aspects of the experiment in "150 hour courses" in which background knowledge is virtually non-existent.

VI. Initial assessment

At this stage, at the start of the third experiment, it is premature but necessary to take some stock of the scheme, particularly for the purposes of this paper.

From the political and cultural point of view, it may be said that the 150 hour courses represent the first important application of a principle which has gradually crystallised in recent years, that is to say, the principle that workers (and not only their children) have the right to study.

The idea of student-workers found its way into employment contracts largely in the form of "permission to take time off" in order to take examinations and as a result of a mass demand for education on the part of workers, but on the understanding that such activities largely took place out of working hours. In the case of the 150 hour courses, however, workers are entitled, under agreements, to attend courses in working hours (at least partly: 50 % in the case of metal workers)

What is more, it is the first time the Ministry has agreed to allocate resources for educational "drop-outs" on any considerable scale (relatively speaking, of course).

But moving on from general (quantitative and political) considerations to an assessment of the scheme from the point of view of worker participation (self-management), and from the point of view of the adaptability and the adaptation of educational structures and methods (flexibility), the following points may be made:

a. the introduction of "paid educational leave" in employment contracts is the result of well-advised initiative on the part of leaders of trade union organisations which, for the time being at least, is focused on general and not strictly occupational aspects of education.

b. there was considerable discussion once "paid educational leave" had been secured, not only among the grass roots of the trade union movement but also among a great number of intellectuals who saw in the 150 hour courses an opportunity to achieve an alternative working class culture; in fact, while the scheme lends itself theoretically to some progress in this direction, in practice, it has come up against inadequate cultural and methodological development in the adult education sector, and more specifically, the type of training given to teaching staff, which is inadequate even for ordinary schools (and still more so for courses of this kind);

c. this does not mean that the impact of the courses on the existing situation (organisation, structures, teachers) has not yielded any results throughout the system, especially in terms of actual teacher training, obviously the introduction of a scheme of this kind has results which should mainly be assessed in the long term.

d. nevertheless, it is already possible to claim some initial concrete results in strictly cultural terms, even with the very wide variations pertaining primarily to geographic areas (largely depending on the degree of pressure from trade unions), which

has given this scheme a localised image rather on the lines of "random sampling". In fact, the opportunity for meeting during courses has stimulated cultural development, a demand for greater participation in the workings of society (inside and outside firms) and, in many cases, an appeal for more educational schemes.

e. with particular reference to the self-management of educational processes, the courses may be said - through pupil participation in drawing up curricula and work plans - to mark the first instance, possibly, of "self-management" in state schools. Of course, these are only the first steps and there have been any amount of difficulties, particularly in connection with differences in participants' educational background and expectations from "school" of which workers had both direct experience (in the past) and indirect experience (through their children's schooling). These expectations have sometimes found practical expression in a demand for culture and in concern focused on subject-matter rather than on independent self-management and the underlying purpose of the course. Naturally, the part played by teachers has also been a decisive factor in the practical realisation of these attempts at self-management: stimulating and guiding discussion, identifying focal points of demand, soliciting options, co-ordinating the establishment of curricula (and working procedure) as well as carrying out the project in practice. These are all facets of a profession which the average teacher does not yet possess (and which the teachers on these courses, often young and in their first teaching post, do not possess either).

It must also be said that after the first year, certain guidelines for curricula did emerge and have helped in the subsequent experiments. This is especially true in the case of the metal-workers who started off the scheme, other categories of workers who participated in the scheme after the metal-workers and had less cultural background and experience behind them, share the same problems (a typical example is that of the hospital workers);

f. Lastly, with regard to the flexibility of the scheme, two trends may be said to have emerged:

- the first took the form of organisational changes under the initial pressure of workers' demand: for example, organisation into "units", which cuts down the number of teachers or the length of the course which is "contracted"

(350-450 hours), compared with the ordinary school year and also compared with the normal duration of studies (a single study period as opposed to three terms at school). Another example is that of curricula, extensively altered both in content and method compared to ordinary schools;

- the second, which arose after the start of the course, a feature of which was a certain move towards "standardisation" under pressure from bureaucratic quarters, was to reproduce the standard pattern of educational structure - and also in some cases under pressure from the trade unions, whose aim is greater interaction (at the moment very limited) between the 150 hour courses and ordinary schools. The following proposals have been put forward to this end:

  . that the start of the 150 hour courses should be made to coincide with that of the ordinary school year;

  . that teachers employed on the 150 hour courses should enjoy similar "status" to that of teachers in ordinary schools, this would facilitate their transfer from one type to another;

  . that teachers already in service in ordinary secondary schools should be permitted to transfer to 150 hour courses.

  The first and third proposals have been followed up in that, at least in principle, they have been accepted for the year 1975/6 (although there have been few results in practice because of the delay over arrangements for the courses).

To sum up, we have witnessed the beginnings of a scheme which is fairly flexible in itself compared with ordinary educational schemes and is expanding all the time but, for the time being, has little influence on the whole on the "host" schools for the courses. With regard to the latter aspect, in particular, it should be noted that there has been a good deal of opposition on the part of schools (especially at grass roots level) to the presence of a very different kind of service which introduced a much more active and often "dialectic" approach to teachers, governing boards and the whole set-up in ordinary schools.

To revert to the question of flexibility, it is worth mentioning that at university level "150 hour" activities took a wide variety of forms. Here any schemes which were promoted stemmed from the "independent" initiative of teachers who organised suitable seminars in conjunction with trade union organisations. University governing bodies (at least to start with) held themselves somewhat aloof from these courses and it is only now that some sort of dialogue is being established between trade union organisations and universities in connection with arrangements for the 150 hour courses. All this, however, is being done independently of the Ministry of Public Education, as such, which is only actively involved at the basic education level.

Attempts to integrate "150 hour" university activities with ordinary activities have so far yielded somewhat disappointing results (confined to the joint attendance at seminars by students and workers). In the case of universities, the flexibility and indeed, sometimes, the initial vagueness of the scheme may be said to have been contributory factors in keeping the workers' seminars (which, after all, are not very numerous) somewhat extraneous to the work of the universities.

PART IV

DUTCH ADULT EDUCATION ON ITS WAY TO AN "OPEN SCHOOL" SYSTEM

by

C Stapel

Summary

After an introduction in which the development of adult education within the context of Dutch society is described (I), an analysis is given of the present-day situation, and the tendencies towards a new structure of this field (II).

The possible influence on the organisation, contents and methods of adult education in the Netherlands of the government sponsored endeavour to create an "open school" system is discussed, as well as the way in which the innovation of the existing system is hoped to be reached at (III).

I. The Dutch and their adult education

Adult education in the Netherlands cannot fully be understood without some idea about Dutch society and its typical characteristics. Only then one can appreciate the existence of so many different organisations and agencies and understand the problems arising out of any attempt to bring about change in existing situations.

1. More perhaps than by anything else the Dutch and their society are marked by their "bourgeois" character. The western parts of the Netherlands, including Flanders, from the early Middle Ages onwards have been dominated by towns. Based on farming, fishing and shipping the wealth and influence of these towns grew by trade and commerce. Liberal and tolerant they attracted many who had to or wanted to leave their home countries. And in turn these citizens contributed to the expansion of commerce and culture.

Preponderant as these towns became in social, financial and political respect, that western part of the country in which they were concentrated internationally was taken for the whole: "Holland" stood - unjustifiably however - for "The Netherlands".

This preponderance of the towns and their "bourgois" culture has since stamped the Dutch way of life. Unmistakably connected with this development has been the influence of the Reformation and the spreading of calvinism throughout the country. Emphasising individual decisions in human life it contributed a good deal to the development of local democracy, thereby strengthening a bent to self-government prevailing not only in the independent towns but also in the rural "polder"-districts (dyke-surrounded areas in which farmers had to protect themselves from the water).

Individualism and the will to independency however both in religious affairs and in matters of politics often led to partyship and internal struggles in this Repuolic of the Netherlands. A for the larger part man-made country, it had and has a small-scale pattern, well-planned and meticulously kept.

The scenery seems to reflect or be reflected in the minds of the inhabitants. No "grandeur", no socially or culturally dominating leisure class - no typical working class masses either, but laborious "middle class" in every respect, practical more than visionary.

2. Within this social context the first attempts in the field of adult education were undertaken by a menonite minister in one of the small old towns, towards the end of the 18th century. Enlightenment and rationalism spreading through Europe hope for human happiness and progress was set on learning and the accumulation of knowledge. These ideas did not leave untouched the more liberal, better educated circles in the Netherlands. Societies for the promotion of science, of trade and industry, of agriculture, came into being towards the end of the 18th century.

And so did the "NAATSCHAPPIJ TOT NUT VAN HET ALGEMMEEN" (Society for the Promotion of Public Well-Being) (1784), having as its aim "The improvement of citizenship and education" in accordance with the principles of Christian religion without taking a stand in civic or religious struggles! A rapidly growing number of local "departments" having as members people from the same social and cultural background as its founder, tried to spread "learning" - and therefore happiness - by creating schools, training colleges and particularly libraries.

Lectures and art performances were organised by the departments for their members and other interested people. Later on - one would be inclined to see this as typically Dutch! - savingsbanks were founded by quite a few departments. And time and again the "society" has taken initiatives which afterwards developed into separate organisations: an inspection of correspondance schools; an institute for research and development of education a.s.o. This "Society for the promotion of public well-being" still does exist, working on the same lines as it had always done, through its local "departments" mainly in rural areas and in some smaller or larger towns.

The example of this "society" may serve to illustrate that adult education in its aims and contents as well as in its organisational structure not only is embedded in a particular social and cultural context, but also operates within a specific historical situation. The view can be held that the nature of historical situations in which adult education becomes actually operational is marked by political and social emancipation of groups in a given society. The question whether adult education triggers off emancipation or just the reverse, may be left aside. This point of view anyhow gives us the possibility of describing the development of adult education in the Netherlands in relation to the emancipation of different groups in Dutch society.

It may be clear from the foregoing that both organisation and objectives of the "society" mentioned are part of the main current in Europe of emancipation of the "ordinary" citizen within the liberal and democratic movements of the first half of the 19th century. In the Netherlands this "society" is - so to say - the "translation" into terms of education of that movement.

3. It lasted until the very end of that century before another initiative was taken in the field of adult education. Meanwhile for young people, complementary to the old "latin school" or gymnasium, a new type of secondary education had been created. The "Hogere Burger School" ("Higher school for citizens") another offspring of the century's main current of developing democracy, growing technology and spreading industrialisation.

And whilst the socialist movement and trade unionism as an expression of beginning emancipation of labouring classes in this country were beginning to make their way in the last decades of the 19th century, under the influence of the British university extension movement, Dutch university professors tried to make a start with educational activities for industrial workers. Though not unsuccessful at the outset - particularly in some larger towns - they have not been able to involve the universities in these "extramural activities - a situation which still does exist today. On the other hand, however, quite a few private associations under the name of "VOLKSUNIVERSITEIT", ("Popular University") gradually came into being, mainly in towns, organising lectures and evening classes in the field of science, languages, arts and philosophy. Audiences, however, were by far the largest part recruited from middle class groups, interested in "modern" development and scientific progress.

More successful in reaching working class people within their own environment were the "VOLKS- EN BUURTHUIZEI" (Settlements and Neighbourhood centres) which in about the same time as the university extension movement and out of a similar concern began to work in this country inspired by the English model. In towns first, around the countryside later, from before World War I these "houses" started a "community work" type of adult education not particularly concentrating upon lectures and "classes", but more on activities to meet practical needs. Initiatives for this type of work in most cases having been taken by middle-class people, yet workers and farmers participated far more in learning situations within "our houses" (as in some instances these centres had been called) than audiences in popular universities used to do. One should not be surprised to see these neighbourhood houses in recent years embark upon community development activities in urban and rural areas, these activities being considered as being of an essentially educative nature.

When trade unions became more important during the early 20th century decades the highly skilled diamond workers were the first to start their own educational activities; dissemination of science and strengthening class-consciousness were their objectives.

After the 8-hours working day had been introduced (1920) both the possibility to and the need for education under industrial workers seemed to grow hand in hand. A national organisation with local branches, set up jointly by the socialist party and the (socialist) Trade Union Congress, was the answer: the "INSTITUUT VOOR ARBEIDERSONTWIKKELING" (1959: "Nederlands Instituut voor Volksontwikkeling en Natuurvriendenwerk - NIVON), a Dutch counterpart of the "Workers Educational Association". Classes, lectures, bookclubs, films, travels and festivities were to meet the need for leisure time activities and recreation as well as education. The influence of the (international) socialist youth movement clearly can be traced in NIVON's nature-education work with its international affiliation and its travelling service.

4. So far the history and development of adult education in the Netherlands as connected (in organisation as well as objectives and contents) with socially and politically emancipating groups in society (liberal middle-class and socialist workers) is not essentially different from those in other European countries. Towards the end of the 19th century, however, another emancipatory wave brought groups to the fore that since then would become an important if not sometimes even dominating force in Dutch society. The protestant religion since the Reformation having been the "official" one, authorised by the States-General, lost its exclusive position when under the liberal government in the 1850s the Roman Catholic church was allowed to restore its bishoprics and perform its services again and under a new constitution all denominations had an equal freedom safeguarded.

From this time onward that part of the Dutch population that, practising the Roman Catholic religion and living in the poorer southern parts of the country, merely had been tolerated and had been treated as "second rate" citizens, was taken up by a broad emancipatory movement. The clergy leading it organised itself in every field of cultural and social life claiming its legitimate role in the nations affairs. It goes without saying that from this point of view education should be one of the most important tools to have in hand.

But this same held good for another group within the Dutch population. The Calvinist group, socially belonging mostly to the lower middle-class (small farmers, craftsmen, fishermen) in the 19th century had to struggle against liberal and "modernist" tendencies dominating the "official" protestant church. And although they were the ones that had been most fiercely opposed against the tolerance of the liberal government towards the "papists", they were the first to join them in their claim for a "free school"; a school exclusively paid for by the government but run by parents through their - denominational - organisations. They found liberals and socialists, both in favour of a state (public) school system, on their way. A politically rather remarkable situation was the outcome Roman Catholics and calvanists after having created their own "church directed" political parties formed a "coalition" on the issue of the "freedom of education". And since the liberal political party was losing its grip on an in numbers growing electorate, the "coalition" with about 40-50% of the voters, dominated the political scene in this country until very recently.

Not in politics only, but just as much - or perhaps more - in matters of education churches and religion were going to play an important role. After the "pacification" in 1920 education became "free": every small-size group of parents had the right to create a school of its own, to be paid by the government. Primary schools first, secondary schools and all types of vocational and technical education later, and in the end universities too appeared, the Dutch educational system thus becoming atripartite (or "three pillar") system: "neutral", Roman Catholic and Protestant schools and educational organisations going side by side.

Apparently - and quite understandably - most energy during the first decades of the 20th century was put into education of youth; it was only - as we will see - after World War II when the churches and their organisations were losing their impact on social and cultural life that education of adults as a sort of secularised church activity became a major concern - often of former priests and ministers.

It should be noted, however, that inside some of the religion-based social organisations, such as trade unions and womens guilds, quite a bit of adult education activity was developed for general or more specific training purposes. Obviously the emphasis on education of adults within these organisations had to do with the fact that here again the politi- l emancipation, more precisely the right to vote of both labourers and women was at stake.

5. Particularly WOMEN'S ORGANISATIONS in this country - carried by a "double wave" of emancipation: one as women in general and another as belonging to the religious groups mentioned or, later on, to the rural population - turned more and more to educational activities. Local branches, with volunteer help, organised a large number of programmes varying from health care and cooking to civics and literature.

The crisis of the thirties gave another impetus to these activities: economic and social reality together with the rise of the new field of social sciences presented not only a necessity of intensified adult education, in particular in poverty stricken rural and urban areas but at the same time the possibility of a new approach - less rationalist and abstract but more concrete and human. NEIGHBOURHOOD CENTRES in the countryside, SETTLEMENTS in the cities with a growing number of "professional" though hardly paid workers tried to answer the challenge. Responding to the same were HOME ECONOMICS- AND FAMILY GUIDANCE- ADVISORY SERVICES working in close collaboration with women's organisations and - in rural areas - with the "SMALL-HOLDERS" EXTENSION SERVICE. Wide-spread unemployment under young adults and concern about their future in a country and a nation which, divided by religious and political controversies, seemed to be unable to cope with the problems, made some people wonder whether the Scandinavian "Folk High School" idea should not offer an adequate - educational - possibility of building a "better" national community in which the underdog would not be left out of sight. Young sociologists were, among others, the initiators of this new "movement" in adult education. The founding of the first FOLK HIGH SCHOOL in 1931 marked the beginning of the development of (short-term) residenti- adult education in this country. After 1945 it became one of the more important, anyway the most 'professionalised" parts of Dutch adult education - of course, apart from the "general" or "non-confessional" Folk High Schools, having its confession-based centres of different denominations.

Economic distress too compelled people to look for and prepare themselves for other jobs. EVENING SCHOOLS of which the first one started around 1930 after a German example, tried to offer possibilities, mainly leading to diplomas on secondary education level. Technical schools as well were

beginning to develop evening courses, in some cases building on older traditions, where courses for workers had been organised by benevolent societies. CORRESPONDENCE SCHOOLS on a commercial basis offered opportunities for diploma courses already from the early twenties and were now sometimes co-operating with Folk High Schools and other institutes organising courses for unemployed.

On the whole, however, relatively little was done - even in these days of unemployment before the war - in the field of vocational adult education, the emphasis being on the cultural and social or political side, thereby stressing the emancipatory implications of adult education more than the labour-market ones.

6. After World War II at first this situation virtually did not change. Economic reconstruction instead of economic distress had a similar though stronger effect on adult education. TRAINING and RETRAINING FACILITIES were created by the Ministry of Labour as part of a developing labour-market policy. A real industrialisation process taking off in the Netherlands only after the loss of the former colonies, industry itself too saw the necessity of in-service training schemes for its adult workers. For young people a rapidly growing number of vocational and technical schools were created - on the initiative and in the interest of industrial employers, and paid - according to the agreed principle of freedom of education - by the Ministry of Education.

Farming on its way from a family "way of life"-affair to "agri-business" needed major adult-education operations - and got them in different forms such as INTENSIFIED AGRICULTURAL EXTENSION SERVICES both technical and economical, adult courses provided by agricultural schools and rural areas development schemes, for the largest part organised by the farmers'-unions and rural women's organisations and paid by the Ministry of Agriculture.

An apparent economic growth opening up new prospects and resulting in more prosperity evidently led a growing number of people to look for more education in order to have better opportunities.

The need for up to date and easily accessible information, together with the rapid spreading of television in the sixties led to the creation of "TELEAC" (Television Academy) in 1963, on the initiative of the "Society for Trade and Commerce" one of the still existing 18th century "Societies", known for its outstanding record in the field of initiating and promoting social and cultural institutions.

Broadcasting - as education and other social and cultural activities in this country - is in the hands of private organisations (denominational and other) licensed by the government to use the state-provided technical facilities for a number of hours according to membership. Under these ± 30 licensed organisations, there are some which have been set up particularly in order to provide educational broadcasts: the "RADIO POPULAR UNIVERSITY" an agency of the Association of Popular Universities, has been one of the first (1930); the denominational broadcasting organisations together have come to an understanding on the basis of which "School Radio Broadcastings" are offered for the denominational different types of schools, the national school organisations have formed a common "School Television" service (NOT).

Although some of the broadcasting organisations from time to time offer adult education programmes (mainly on radio), the two organisations specialised in that field so far are the "Radio Popular University" and "Teleac"; the latter - by far the larger and government supported - is particularly active in post-graduate and language courses as well as courses on topics of general interest. For its courses "Teleac" has developed a multi-media system, including sometimes group discussions organised in co-operation with local adult organisations.

More directly geared to offering diplomas - which Teleac is not - EVENING CLASSES and all sorts of VOCATIONAL COURSES on a commercial basis have sprung up in post-war years to fulfil the adult's demand for education.

And under pressure of parents and the laws of imitation a rapidly expanding school system began to exercise a capillary function, bringing an increasing number of youngsters up to the level of their incompetency. Anyhow the general level of education started to rise considerably.

At the same time non-vocational or non-diploma directed adult education developed as well - immediately after the war the residential sector in particular. FOLK HIGH SCHOOLS since pre-war days wishing to strengthen national and international community were strongly favoured by ideals of national revival and international co-operation. Under the influence of a reactivated and sometimes oecumenical missionary zeal the churches went to set up RESIDENTIAL COLLEGES to serve a renewal of christian life. It did not take long to see one convent after another monastery being converted into residential colleges notably after government grants for residential adult education had been allowed and lastly risen up to 70%.

The non-residential sector, in which still mainly the non-religion based traditional institutions as well as women's organisations, together with settlements and neighbourhood centres were active, was growing alike but financially less favoured, with the exception of the latter category.

In this sector however a new development took place when as a consequence of on-going secularisation on the one hand and new concepts of religious practice on the other churches or rectories were going to be used as LOCAL ADULT EDUCATION CENTRES, or, as happened in a number of cases, when priests or vicars left their premises and privileges (or ties!) and embarked upon adult education activities mainly in the larger cities and under less favoured groups of the population. Little institutionalised, flexible and mostly rather progressive, these, as yet not or hardly subsidised, locally-working agencies present a new element in adult education challenging the traditional - more institutionalised and liberal - ones.

And evidently influenced by religious notions and traditions they stand for a concept of adult education which stresses the emancipatory, the liberating elements and reject the "schooling" elements as having a socialising effect affirming the existing power structure.

Since in this country quite a few servants of the churches have quit their former calling and turned to the new profession of adult education the influence of this concept of adult education has widely permeated the whole field and has led to some controversy between the two concepts in actual work today.

With this picture of the development of adult education within the context of Dutch society a background is given for an analysis of the present-day situation.

II. The function of adult education and its integration in Dutch society

The picture shown in the first chapter may rightly give the impression of a number of scattered pieces of a jig-saw puzzle. We now may be able to identify each piece as to its origin and the place where about it might fit in, but by no means does it present a coherent system of adult education. Understandable as this may be, most activities or institutions having been generated by a sequence of cultural, social or economic development, yet the need for a comprehensive approach to the whole field became stronger in post-war years.

1. The first step to put "the pieces together" was the creation, on British example, known through the contacts within the European Bureau of Adult Education, of the "NEDERLANDS CENTRUM VOOR VOLKSONTWIKKELING" (NCVO) ("Netherlands Centre for Adult Education") in 1965.

In it the national organisations in which the different types of adult education activities and institutions were brought together, undertook to consult and co-operate with each other in order to clarify and strengthen the position of adult education in this country. Unmistakably time and again the co-operating organisations exclusively belonging to the "liberal", non vocational sector of adult education (evening schools nor correspondence schools for instance are represented) seem more ready indeed to defend their own position as a "weak" sector against the dominant formal school system or the - for political reasons - more influential youth work sector.

This relatively weak position of the "liberal" part of adult education is reflected by the repartition of responsibilities under the government departments concerned. Before the war the government did not take any responsibility at all for adult education as such: only in as far as it had anything to do with unemployed adults there was some financial support, within the framework of unemployment policy, from the Ministry of Labour. The first Minister of Education after the war however, trying to constitute a new, comprehensive policy of education, created a directorate for out-of-school education within the ministry, started to give grants-in-aid to Folk High Schools and other residential colleges, and made a beginning with the drafting of regulations.

Very soon, unfortunately, this far-seeing policy had to give way to a more narrow, traditional one, and after some years "adult education" as a restricted, small sub-division was added to a newly created government department for "Culture, Recreation and Social Work".

Although belonging to the "culture" division - and not to "recreation" or "social work"! - "adult education" was not very well placed there either, since the "welfare state" policy in this country during the fifties very strongly though not unjustifiably emphasised the "social dimension" of the then big issues of industrialisation, rural reform and town and country planning.

Community organisation and social work in the broadest sense were promoted, the official government policy neglecting the educational (preventive) aspects of both, notwithstanding the efforts on the part of adult education organisations to point out and prove its importance.

Evidently in the early sixties in this country the time had not yet come to consider education and particularly adult education as a "dimension" inherent in all major movements and developments in society. Let alone that it would be conceived of as a function in society in its own right.

2. It was exactly to throw more light upon this function that the Netherlands Centre for Adult Education as one of its first major projects in 1967 took the initiative to have a committee of experts work on a study about "function and future of adult education in Dutch society". It may be characteristic for this country's situation first that it was not the government that had taken this initiative leaving, by a long standing tradition, such matters as religion, charity, education and arts to private initiative to be cared for, and second that it was not a very original initiative, other countries having taken the lead by publishing similar studies. But even the world's Doomsday, according to Heine, would appear in the Netherlands fifty years later! Not only these other studies, but just as well the outcome of the UNESCO Montreal Conference on Adult Education (1960) and more in particular the Council of Europe's 1967 Marly-le-Roi Conference on "Permanent Education" had a great influence on the discussion in this country.

These influences worked out in a double way: on one hand in the set-up of the committee of experts' study mentioned before and in another way in the organisation of a government sponsored "Round Table Conference", held in 1969 on "Permanent Education" and the implications of this policy principle for the restructuring of the field of adult education. Both had their consequences in theory and practice.

The study on "FUNCTION AND FUTURE OF ADULT EDUCATION IN DUTCH SOCIETY", which appeared towards the end of 1969, had the intention to clarify the function of adult education as implied by the permanent education principle and the policies to be pursued both by private organisations and the government in order to have this function realised. Since this study has become - more implicitly however than explicitly - a guideline for official politics it seems appropriate to summarise here its main points.

1. Although a distinction is made - more or less parallel to those made in other countries and languages - between the broader notion of "vorming" and the more cognitive aspect of "ontwikkeling", both might be covered by the translation "(adult) education", this notion in turn being distinguished from "instruction" as well as "training", ranging these concepts from involving a "whole person" to merely certain aspects of outward conduct. Adult education thus is not

"value-free", but has to take a stand as to man and society. As the study has it adult education should contribute to the realisation of human freedom, knowing that this cannot be achieved without striving at the same time after structures of society that permit this freedom to become real. Therefore freedom and solidarity are key-notions in this concept of adult education. Stressing as the study does that this concept in its value - loadedness could be supported from different religious, humanistic and political view-points, it proves at the same time the essential pluralist character of Dutch society as well as the typical impact of religious and theological debate on every important issue. It is clearly pointed out that adult education thus conceived cannot limit itself to reflection, clarification and better understanding, but has to prepare for action and to help find ways and means to change structures in society.

Eventually the unavoidable consequence can be that adult education and social action have to go hand in hand. Anyway adult education never can limit itself to a service-function to actual society.

ii. Based on these fundamentals a set of tasks is assigned to adult education in present-day society. Together they have to answer the question how in a permanent process of rapid and profound change human freedom and solidarity can be safeguarded and fostered. The tasks that have to be performed are lying in fields constituted by (a) the accumulation of knowledge; (b) the enlargement of life-chances; (c) growing prosperity and revolutions in occupational life; (d) intensification of communication. A further analysis is made of the requirements which in each of these fields have to be met by adult education.

As to accumulation of knowledge (a) it is stated that all education, formal and non-formal, should take into account the stronger critical attitude and the need to participate actively in and influence the course of affairs, as well as the necessity of democratisation and speading of access to and assimilation of knowledge. Equality of opportunity should be one of the leading principles in this respect. As a consequence of these demands the study advocates a close co-operation between formal and non-formal (adult) education; a broader scope for popularised scientific information; a continuously brought up to date offer of basic knowledge; the development of documentation and information services; more attention to be paid to background questions.

Most important, challenge for adult education by the enlargement of life-chances indicated under (b) is, according to the study, the widening margin in life in which man can choose. In order to make one's personal choice, one should be able to understand one's self, and in order to shape one's life, develop creativity and ability to relate to others and participate in action.

Answers to this challenge would have to be: political education meant to enable people to contribute to a further democratisation of their own environment; family- and parent-education, with a view to changing family-patterns and marital or male-female relationships; educational activities directed towards more involvement and participation of young workers as well as elderly people, both groups until now having been looked upon as not yet or no more "active adults".

In these tasks in particular one can recognise again the emancipatory function of adult education. Today no doubt a similar study explicitly would have paid attention to women's role in society and have made an even more fundamental plea for emancipatory education. It is remarkable on the other hand - and a warning for the inevitable limitations of every such study - that only six years ago this had not been done. Not even one woman served on the 18-man committee!

In relation to (c) the growing prosperity and the revolutions in occupational life, the most important task for adult education is considered to be clarification of the increasingly complex economic and social problems and the related shifts in occupational structure with their connections with third world development problems. It is stated as a necessity that "general" and "vocational" education being not just a "cultural fringe" to be added to the "hard core" of vocational, diploma-directed education, but an essential element meant to sharpen the critical attitude of workers and eventually having the work-environment itself as its object of change.

Special attention is asked for vocational education in agriculture and the trades and crafts, for education within the civil service, for vocational guidance, counselling, (re)training and education of women, and for consumer education.

The intensification of communication (d) confronting everybody with an open, tradition-lacking society with excessive, often stereotyped, world-wide mass-media information, makes it necessary to help people to master this situation.

Education should aim at a critical use of information, honesty to facts, expose prejudice and discrimination, and strengthen tolerance, thus making possible a real communication. Ways and means for communication, notably the arts and the mass-media, should be integrated in adult education activities.

Adult education that, according to the study summarised so far, in present-day society has to fulfil this complex of tasks, thereby is going to have a function quite different from the one it used to have. Could this former function be described as an incidental corrective and complementary one to (formal) youth education, the future function is far more essential, adult education becoming - just as education of youths has already been before long - a permanent function integrated into modern society. In other words: adult education, as part of a function that has to be provided for permanently and generally, is going to be socialised.

iii. Admitting this fact the Committee of Experts in its study specifies a number of wishes as to structures to be developed and measures to be taken.

a. The existing organisations and institutions are summoned "to put their pieces together", in order to create an adequate and rational complex of provisions. If need be organisations should be ready to change their operations or eventually terminate them.

To avoid overlap or fill gaps specialisation and differentiation will be necessary: not every organisation should try to do everything. Common programming and mutually adjusted policies will be required, not only from adult education organisations in the narrower sense, but just as well from youth-work agencies, the schools, universities, libraries, museums, mass-media and community development agencies. To this end the study recommends the establishment of local or regional "education councils" or bodies based on co-operation of existing agencies. Conscious of the problems and entanglements this might cause, the committee, according to Dutch tradition, decidedly preferred this more difficult way instead of advocating a new structure beside or over the existing one.

b. As to accommodation and personnel the study stresses the necessity of using more fully existing facilities, such as school buildings, cultural centres, neighbourhood houses, libraries and the like. Multi-purpose buildings should be built when existing accommodation is insufficient.

Since only residential adult education and neighbourhood centres are more or less properly staffed the demand is made in order to have the local education bodies well manned, to have one professional worker for every 20-30,000 inhabitants. It goes without saying that this demand in its turn has to lead to a higher degree of professionalisation, without however leaving out the necessary and valuable role volunteer workers will always have to play. Therefore more training facilities are asked for, to be realised preferably by an integration of university and higher

professional education. In-service (re)training facilities should be organised regionally based on co-operation of practice, research and training, whereby residential colleges could bring in their know-how and facilities. Although the study sees the adult educators' profession as a "free" profession, it advocates at the same time an adequate personnel policy, a coherent career-planning and a solid legal status. The question might well be whether an increasing degree of socialisation of adult education will be compatible with a "free" profession; developments today show a growing tension between the workers' claim for freedom of - criticising - action and their demand to have a well guaranteed civil servants position.

c. Research and development as yet are of little importance in this country. The committee thus recommends the setting up of a research policy stimulating new and co-ordinating current projects and urging co-operation between universities and research institutes. A coherent publications policy and the provision of transfer and "translation-to-practice" facilities, particularly in the field of curricula and methods should have high priority.

d. With recommendations for government policy the study winds up. Most of these recommendations follow from desiderata formulated previously: further decentralisation of education policy, but, as is emphasised, along with enlargement of financial possibilities of local and regional authorities; elaboration of legal measures to ensure co-operation of organisations and institutions on local level and its adequate financing; the introduction of an educational leave, beginning for instance with adults in the years before being pensioned. To work out the recommendations it is suggested that a ministerial committee be set up to make more specific proposals.

3. This study on "Function and Future of Adult Education" has been summarised here at some length because it has become the main policy document both for organisations in the field as well as - although never adopted officially as such - for the government departments concerned. It so happens that in this relatively new field workers, experts and policy-makers are still largely the same people. Thus lines of communication are short and mutual influence easy. So concepts and ideas from the 1970 study formulated by the committee largely could be put into practice by the same people and their organisations. And to a great extent these same views could be brought to the fore in the 1969 Government Round Table Conference, mentioned before, the initiative to which after all had come from the same circles that had been behind the Netherlands Centre for Adult Education and its study.

So as a consequence of both the study on "Function and Future" and the Round Table Conference, in 1971 the "Advisory Board on Adult Education" was established by the Minister of Culture, Recreation and Social Work, for a large part having as members the same persons that had been serving on the expert committee that had prepared the study. The Board was commissioned to advise the Minister either on his request or on its own initiative in all matters regarding adult education. One of the first requests made by the Ministry was to make proposals for a regulation of local adult education and a revision of the regulation concerning residential adult education, existing - as the only one! - in different versions since 1953.

The Board had a special task-force draw up these proposals in the form of draft regulations. As to the proposal concerning local adult education - which had highest priority because of its "underdeveloped" position - hearings were held on the first draft, which was critically commented by a large number of people and organisations in the field. A second version passed the Board and was presented to the Minister. One should not be astonished to see that the proposed regulation largely had been inspired by the ideas already known from the Centre for Adult Education's study. The main point was that the Ministry of Culture, Recreation and Social Work should put a premium on efforts to co-operate at local level in offering an adequate (ie responding to the real needs of local communities) range of adult education activities using existing facilities as much as possible. A set of criteria was indicated by which the premium could be fixed: the more "forgotten" groups in local societies could be reached and the larger the scope of co-operative efforts the higher the premium would be. Local government should have decisive influence in allowing grants, although the regulation in fact would be a basis for central government's subsidising policy. The regulation should be effective only for a limited number of years, since it was meant to be an "educative" measure. Local governments never had had - if they had not taken it upon themselves - any responsibility for education of adults, nor had private organisations been very much inclined to co-operate and plan together their operations. It therefore seemed necessary to allow for a period in which local authorities as well as adult education organisations could try to find each other and make their way towards a comprehensive local education system. This temporary central regulation granting subsidies on certain specific conditions aiming at bringing about the integration process, then should be replaced by a law that would place the responsibility exclusively with the autonomous local authorities. In the meantime central government would have the power to intervene and make on request the necessary provisions, if locally no agreement could be reached.

4. During nearly two years in which the nation-wide discussion about this proposal went on - in itself having already a "sensibilisation" effect on all agencies concerned - the Ministry in its budget opened up the possibility of "local co-operation" experiments. Three cities and two rural areas were selected in which the principles of the draft proposal, though not yet accepted by the Ministry, should be tried out. The Ministry commissioned the Netherlands Centre for Adult Education to conduct a research project on these experiments.

The Centre meanwhile had taken the initiative to organise in every province, together with the provincial advisory "Councils for cultural affairs", information meetings for local authorities on the policy issues with which they would be confronted once the proposals would have been accepted by the Ministry and had become effective. Local authorities showing themselves rather interested - on the condition that money would follow ideas - quite a number of national organisations demonstrated scepticism about a "co-operation" which would be "forced upon them", fear of losing their freedom under central regulations, and at the same time mistrust of local authorities and their sometimes narrow-minded politicians. It was evident however that on local and regional level there was much more willingness to try and find ways by which adult education could fulfil a more adequate function in local society, as an increasing number of applications for government grants to initiatives in this respect did prove.

The Ministry deciding about the Advisory Board's proposals in a first draft regulation had them sharpened up, strengthening its own discretionary power. When the organisations and local authorities, being consulted, brought up fierce criticism, a second draft changed even more in the original proposals, leaving out the "educational" elements and the Ministry's own possibility to intervene. Under the regulation as it has been drafted now (1975) local authorities that will have drawn up a plan for the structuring of adult education provisions (based preferably on co-operation of existing institutions) and within it have a yearly programme of activities organised, will be entitled to have the costs of this programme reimbursed, probably (though this is not yet decided upon) up to about 70% overall. Very few indications have been left in the new draft as to the ways and means local authorities and organisations should use to reach the goal of an adequate adult education structure integrated into the whole of the local education system.

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On the one hand this may be looked upon as being a real breakthrough in the centralist attitude for which the government is so often reproached and as giving full credit to the autonomous local authorities on the other hand it might well be feared that the most active and well equipped municipalities will use their power to influence both local organisations as well as central government to accept their plans. The more so since the draft is not very specific in its criteria with which structures and programmes should comply and, therefore, decisions in this respect will have to be rather arbitrary.

It is hoped however that a new committee which in 1975 has been commissioned by the Minister of Culture, Recreation and Social Work, in view of the intended legislation, with the task to advise about the nature, structure and scope of local education "networks" will work out procedures and standards that can be used in implementing the new regulation. In this "Committee on Local Education Networks" some of those that had been engaged in preparing the study on "Function and Future" are to be found again, so that further elaboration of the study's ideas in this respect can be expected. The committee particularly will have to cope with the problem of planning; once adult education is no longer going to be a marginal, hardly subsidised, affair or a more or less commercial enterprise, this problem arises. Essentially it will mean whether or not, and how, can be quantified what will be judged (a political decision!) a reasonable or minimal, well spread set of provisions for adult education. By no means an easy problem since it pertains to a field in which thinking in terms of "quality" and freedom of action is preferred over quantification with its unavoidable fixations and restrictions! It is only with respect to public libraries that a step in this direction has been taken with the new (1975) Law on public libraries.

5. This very problem of planning had arisen as well with regard to residential adult education. As has been mentioned Folk High Schools and residential colleges in general in this country have had the privilege of having a system of grants in aid from central government since the early fifties, as the only sector in adult education. Together with the drafting of a new regulation for local work the Advisory Board was asked by the Ministry to propose a revision of the existing regulation for residential work and see to their mutual adjustment. The main point of the suggested alterations was that it be allowed to residential colleges, being the most professionalised institutions, to have staff members undertake "out-reach" activities in local situations, in co-operation with organisations or groups on the spot. Many residential

colleges, in particular Folk High Schools had already established this type of work as a sort of Community development activity, without so far having been entitled to have it subsidised. Now the envisaged co-operation of adult education institutions in local situations should have a further component in a regional co-operation with residential colleges.

On this point again the problem of planning becomes topical. It had already been introduced though when the former Minister had raised the question of how many residential colleges there should be and where they should be. The development of these institutions in the Netherlands gives a good example of what happens when there is no clear policy either on the side of the government, or on that of the institutions concerned. Since central government started to subsidise Folk High Schools in 1948, it continued to pay with 70% in fact every new college that asked for it and that had been in operation during one year. As long as economic growth and prosperity went on pressure from churches and trade-unions particularly to have "their" colleges subsidised too, had little resistance from the part of central government.

Provincial governments for the same reason, and since after all this whole residential business was a minor concern, gradually had come to give a grant in aid as well (+ 10 to 15% of the central government's 70%), although they had not had any say in the decision whether or not a centre should be established within its boundaries, nor whether or not central government should subsidise it and by doing so in fact, would oblige provincial government to do the same.

The consequence has been that - apart from the Folk High Schools, which had constantly followed the policy of establishing one in every province - residential colleges are scattered all over the country, situated mainly in the centre and the north, whilst only a few are to be found in the more densely populated areas in the western parts of the country. Programme planning is more or less is done by each centre itself; on a few occasions there is some co-ordination between residential centres mutually or between them and local organisations. Thus in every respect the picture is one of unco-ordinated growth, no criteria for admission being available. Consequently when public money became shorter the Ministry simply paid less than the regulation's 70% and the colleges had to meet ends by cutting their budgets and raising fees. It goes without saying that such a situation could not last, and the Minister, therefore, in 1972, asked the Advisory Board to advise him on the planning of residential colleges. Although the then Minister's concern was primarily a financial one, his successor, according to the developing trend of comprehensive planning, attributes a much wider significance to this planning advice. The Board, with this in view, first wanted to have some research done; a report now has been finished, but as usual presents mainly historical data and views of interviewed staff-members.

6. Whether or not this may be helpful in reaching a decision on a planning mechanism, this decison anyway has to be a political one, and thus will go along with the decisions to be made on the development of local adult education networks.

The main lines of the future organisation of adult education thus emerge: the so far "underdeveloped" local adult education institutions, both the traditional as well as the more recent ones, will be the nuclei of local "networks"; they will have to be developed in connection with the school system. The "over-developed" residential colleges will have to adapt their operations in such a way that they fit into or co-operate with the network systems either regionally or nationally. Nationally too, a relationship with correspondence-schools and the mass-media - in the way of a multi-media co-operation - will have to be developed.

Adult education structuring itself along these lines - and stimulated to do so by an adequate policy - and financing! - both of national government and local authorities - would more than ever before become an integrated part of modern society and be able to fulfil the educational function this society requires.

On one condition: that the adult education system as it has been described here will find its "connection" or if possible its integration with the school systems in order to give shape to the idea of "permanent education".

III. Adult education and its integration in the Dutch educational system

1. So far adult education has been described as being mostly "out-of school" education. However correct this may be, "in-school- education" having traditionally been reserved to youth, yet in some instances - as has already been observed - schools too have developed adult courses. Mainly in the field of vocational training, evening courses have been and are offered by technical schools of different level, commercial and agricultural schools and schools for domestic science. As far as the teaching profession is concerned, notably as a consequence of constant changes in science and occupational life, retraining or refresher courses for teachers always, though in particular after the war, have been organised. And to obtain general education diplomas on secondary level "evening schools" have opened their doors - as has been mentioned before - since the early thirties. These formal education opportunities for adults however, being mainly administered by the Ministry of Education, and therefore subject to the complex legislative and administrative machinery grown within this government department, in most cases have been more "formal" indeed, less flexible, and usually in contents and methods still more geared to young than to adult people.

It may be understandable, therefore, that few if any contacts ever have existed between these parts and pieces of formal adult education and the informal adult education agencies, the more so since the latter came under the authority of the new and highly "informal" Ministry of Culture, Recreation and Social Work!

Even less is the relationship with the "Accelerated Vocational Training" courses and other training facilities (in or outside companies) from 1946 onward organised directly or paid by the Ministry of Labour within the framework of a gradually developing labour-market policy. Not only because here again another government department is in charge of a set of adult education activities, but more fundamentally since the philosophy behind the three "domains" of adult education indicated seems to be that much different that it would hardly be conceivable to bring them together in one coherent system.

These philosophies vary from an "emancipatory personal growth" - and "critical attitude towards society" - philosophy on one end, via "knowledge means power and profit", to a "training adapted to requirements of economic growth" - philosophy on the other end. More clearly however than in the respective government departments' policies, these philosophies find their expression in concepts and ideologies on which groups and organisations that have to do with education of adults base their policy and actions. These groups range from "adult education" institutions via parent- and teacher-organisations as well as trade-unions to employers' unions.

2. In such a situation any attempt to try and integrate what has both structurally and ideologically grown already so far apart, must be rather hazardous. Yet, urged by the necessity of coping with "rapid change" all over, more so perhaps than attracted by the lure of "éducation permanente" the then Minister of Education in 1968 published a statement on policy priorities in which he emphasised the necessity of co-ordinating the so far incoherent parts of the educational system. This should not only apply to the school-system itself - for which it would mean an increasing degree of integration both horizontally (for instance between vocational and non-vocational education on equal level) as well as vertically (eg between the, in this country, still separated "kindergarten" and elementary education) but just as well to the school-system as such and other "out-of-school" types of education.

By that time however this remained just wishful thinking.

In 1971 the Ministry of Labour published a paper on its "Philosophy and policy with regard to training in the framework of an active Labour-market policy". Here too, as in other sectors of

education not only social and economic circumstances compelled to review the existing situations, but so did international opinion as well. Already two years earlier a working group of representatives from the government departments concerned (Labour, Education, Culture, Recreation and Social Work, Economic Affairs and Agriculture) had made a plea for the co-ordination of policy making in the field of training and retraining. One of the main features of a policy to be developed would have to be the co-operation between on the job training programmes and the government provided education and (re-) training facilities. And emphasis should shift from purely economic considerations underlying the new policy, to social ones as well, aiming at personal development of individuals. Little thought however was given to the question whether or not an "educational leave" would have to be introduced as a means to promote occupational mobility, let alone cultural enrichment.

Evidently during the late 60s and early 70s within the government as well as the non-governmental organisations thinking had ripened that far that measures to implement these ideas could not fail to be taken.

Thus, when the present government came into power (1973) it did not take long before - based on a Cabinet decision - the Minister of Education together with the Minister of Culture, Recreation and Social Work installed a Task-force to advise them on the development of an "Open School" in this country.

Shortly afterwards (1974) the Minister of Culture, Recreation and Social Work this time together with the Ministers of Education and Labour, had another committee started to advise - as has been said before - on the development of local adult education networks. The Minister of Labour at this moment still has an inter-departmental working group studying the question of how to tackle the problem of educational leave.

The two first task-forces are composed of 10 to 15 members selected as being experienced in the field of education in its broadest sense and not representatives of any group or organisation (a noteworthy fact in this country!). They are not supposed to do more research or embark upon new studies, but to make policy recommendations in order to have the government's aims with regard to the development of the educational system realised.

They are hired to do this job for two days a week during three years, and are equipped with secretarial staff. Inside the government departments concerned a high level officials' working party has been created to consider the recommendations of the task-force and, after the Minister's decision, to take the necessary steps to have them implemented. By mutual representatives communication between the task-force is guaranteed; similarly the government departments' working party has observers in both groups.

3. The "Open School" Task-force has had its commission specified on four points: the "Open School" should have to be an autonomous institution, offering second chance and second way education, without however becoming a separate "education empire"; it should be a multi-media operation; it should concentrate on secondary level education; and - last but not least -: to "disadvantaged" should be given priority.

i. It is obvious that in these terms of reference traces are to be found of foreign examples such as the British "Open University" or the Bavarian "Telekolleg". The important difference however lies in the fact that here, in accordance with the present Cabinet's general policy of spreading power, income and knowledge, an attempt will be made to spread educational opportunities more widely than to those only for whom they are anyway within easy reach. That's why an "open school" was given priority over an "open university", notwithstanding severe criticism on the part of some university groups. The task force in its first recommendation to the Ministers, went a step further: since over 25% of the adult Dutch population never has had any more education than six years elementary school plus, at the most, two years of further education, it was proposed - this population being considered to be the most important educationally disadvantaged group - that an "open school" operation should start not with secondary level education as such, but with a programme aiming at bridging the gap between elementary and lower secondary education to the effect that participants, if they would wish to do so, would be able to continue a secondary level study either on the vocational side or in general education.

The Ministers have accepted this important shift in emphasis and the task-force thus has set out to discuss the requirements an adequate curriculum should comply with.

ii. Taking into account the wide-spread anti-motivatedness caused by former school experience and - one would be inclined to say - by our present-day welfare-state situation, it was clear that the curriculum should have as much "motivation-power" as possible; an open curriculum seemed the answer. "Open" first in this way that it will present issues relevant to the "target"-population and clearly to be recognised as being part of their own life and work situation. It is hoped that this "openness" towards the potential participant's situation will have a strong enough motivating-effect and rouse their interest to participate in small groups in order to work on these - their "own" - problems and situations.

In another way too the curriculum will be open: having started with working on a "thematic" issue with which participants have identified themselves they may discover specific topics or subject matter on which they feel they should acquire more ability or knowledge; they then can make a choice out of a great number of "learning-modules" of about 6 study hours each, with which they can build their own programme.

The "learning-modules" are constructed on the basis of an analysis of the final terms of the lower secondary education level, and as to contents and wording of course adapted to the adult population concerned.

As a matter of fact options of thematic issues and learning modules will have to be limited to the most relevant ones, certainly so in the first years. In so far it would be more correct to say that the curriculum will be "indicative" as to the options available. The counselling which will be part of the learning process, may help people, if they wish, to find other suitable ways to get the education they need.

In any case there will be ample possibilities of pursuing all kinds of studies and activities that will enable people to participate more fully in social and public life as well as in personal relations and family life without being urged to acquire certificates or diplomas. But on the other hand, by "building" a programme accordingly one may just as well prepare for admission to courses or schools on the next higher level and thus acquire certificates having an "effectus civilis". Without this being possible an "open school" necessarily would remain a "second rate" form of education, and would never be integrated into the educational system.

This "openness" of the curriculum and the extent to which it can be individualised will make it possible - it is hoped - to credit participants' life- or work experience. Difficult though this may be, and unfamiliar as it is in Dutch education, the Ministers have agreed with the task-force's proposal to this effect, which will have to be tried out in the first experimental years.

A curriculum of this nature and, therefore, a learning process of this character has the pretention to integrate the two "forms" of adult education which in this country - unfortunately - have, since the last decades particularly, grown apart: "vorming" (non-formal, attitude directed education) and "ontwikkeling" (cognition directed, formal education) which, when leading to diplomas, is called "onderwijs" or "school-education".

Although in either case it essentially is just a learning opportunity which is created, adequately adapted to the learners' situation and needs, the dichotomy between "vorming" and "onderwijs" in this country is treated as an almost metaphysical issue and has been institutionalised accordingly. No wonder that any attempt to integration is met with suspicion and criticism!

iii. The "open school" should be - as has been said - a "multi-media" operation. The impact of TV - and other technological devices as to audio-visual media - of course has been irresistable.

The government in 1971 had already its views on "instructional broadcasting" published in a statement in order to promote public discussion. The term "instructional" had been preferred over "educational" as indicating an intentional process of offering learning opportunities by broadcast to be combined with other media and requiring a controllable activity on the part of the learner. An "educational" effect can be attributed to many more broadcasted productions, so it seemed appropriate to use a more restricting term.

Main points furthermore were that "instructive" broadcasting should not primarily be a special type of broadcasted production, but on the contrary be education making use of special technology; that, therefore, a special institution should be created based on and governed by the autonomous organisations and instititions, in the Dutch situation responsible for education in all its varieties and denominations, and having at its command its own TV and radio channels. The then Minister of Education responsible for this statement, now acts as chairman of the "open school" task-force, so one should not be surprised to see the views expressed in the statement play a considerable role in the task-force's discussions.

In as far as its first project is concerned, giving priority to the educationally disadvantaged, the task-force however decided that the most important "medium" to be used would have to be the immediate personal contact, whether or not within small groups, of "teachers" or "animateurs" and "learners".

The "media-mix", it was concluded, would in each case, varying with the target-group to be reached, and the subject matter offered, require careful study. University-level students eg might be more easily reached with TV only and remain involved, whereas less "learning-minded" people will need constant encouragement by "animateurs". So emphasis will lie here; next important will be written material and other visual aids; radio- and more particularly regionally or locally adapted broadcasts (language!) - will be more used in this case than nation-wide TV-production.

The latter mainly will have a promoting function and present the "case-study"- type issues with which potential participants should be able to identify and thus become involved and interested in the subject-matter and the learning process.

4. Target-group, curriculum and media- use, as described here according to the first recommendation, having been approved of by the Ministers, the task-force then had to consider how to make these ideas operational. It deserves special attention that, contrary to usual practice in this country, structures and organisational problems had not been the task-force's first preoccupation. It has preferred to seek acceptance first of its views and priorities, structure and organisation having to be developed in function thereof.

Since very little experience - either in the Netherlands or elsewhere - has been made with educational activities outreaching to disadvantaged groups, it was considered a necessity to have experiments to try out the validity of assumptions underlying the views and suggestions made in the first recommendation, as well as the practicability of the whole operation as the task-force had in mind. On the other hand, the decision having been taken by the Cabinet that an "open school" had to be introduced as part of the educational system, experiments would not have to answer the question whether or not an "open school" would be feasible, but how it best could be realised.

It was decided therefore that pilot-projects be set up, lasting two years, these two years being about equivalent to the first year of lower secondary education, thus permitting participants to continue, if they would wish to do so, their study and obtain a lower secondary level diploma either on the vocational side or on the general education side.

1. In order to be able to focus the necessary research-studies to specific problem-areas, the target-population has been divided into three different categories, vis married women, working yount people (aged ± 18-30), and adult workers (aged ± 30 - 55/60), actually occupied or not.

Although the curriculum will be one and the same, its "openness" will allow adjustments to the specific situation of each category and even of different groups within each category. Research will be focussed first to the question whether a curriculum as it will have been elaborated does meet the expectations of participants and the requirements of the task-force; this will be studied in the three categories of participants in the way of constant evaluation with on-going feed-back to the curriculum construction team so as to permit permanent adjustment. Furthermore there will be three different objectives for research: different forms of presentation by mass-media and the use and effect of them will be studied within the married women-group; educational needs will be studied in depth with the young workers-group and this for obvious reasons since their needs will decide to a large extent on future adult education activities; the way in which the existing local "educational infra-structure" (schools and adult education organisations) will work and co-operate in providing the animation, teaching and counselling functions for groups and individuals will be studied in the adult workers project.

Pilot-projects will be differentiated according to the three categories of potential participants and will be set up in different locations: the young-workers project in three middle-size towns; the working adults project in three rural areas; the married women's projects in some larger cities and some rural areas, eight locations in all, this larger number being accounted for because of the apparent and urgent need of this group in our society to have more educational opportunities. In each location a number of about 150 participants is hoped to be reached; small as this number may seem, it should be borne in mind that it will be far from easy, as experience has shown to contact and encourage people belonging to the target-population to resume any form of education. Moreover, for research purposes as well numbers should not exceed these limits. And less so, because of the time limit for these pilot projects of two years.

(ii) Before coming to the organisational aspects of the pilot-projects and the long term structural problems of integrating adult education into an overall educational system in this country, some information seems to be appropriate on the financial aspects of these efforts to develop an "Open School"-situation. In the 1975 budget of the Ministry of Education Hfl. 6 million was allocated to the task-force. That year being mainly a preparatory and discussion phase the money has not been used to the full. For 1976 an amount of ± Hfl. 7 million is available; with it have to be covered the task-force members payment, secretarial costs, and - by far the biggest item - the costs of curriculum construction, of mass-media production and of the animator - and teaching teams in the locations.

The task-force had to hire its own curriculum since in the Netherlands no adequate programmes, meeting the requirements of the task-force, were available. It was even necessary to have one team-member from the Dutch speaking part of Belgium. It is hoped that part of the research will be done by existing (university) institutions, but no doubt some research people will have to be employed by the task-force. The production of written material and of radio and TV broadcasts, at least partly, will have to be paid to the co-operating organisations out of the task-force's budget too. And last but not least in each location the salaries and overhead costs of three to five full-time staff will have to be paid.

Of course there has been some discussion whether it would be worth while to spend about Hfl.4000.-- per participant per year in starting up an "Open School" of which the positive effects upon and usefulness for the participants still have to be proved. What else could not have been done with this money if simply it would have been given to existing evening schools or other adult education organisations!

This point of doubt and criticism again discloses the at least ambivalent attitude not only of the regular school system and the adult education system but just as well of correspondence schools and mass-media organisations towards the "Open School" set up.

They all applaud the idea of "permanent education", and agree with its realisation, but so far however have done or could do very little to put it into practice.

It is quite understandable, therefore, that once the "Open School" task-force had set out to try and realise this idea by way of an integrative as well as innovative strategy, fear of loosing their "identity" influenced the attitude of many an organisation or institution. And even more so because of the fact that notwithstanding an ongoing

secularisation, in this country the school system as well as the broadcasting system are for the largest part still firmly denomination or religion based and eagerly watch over their privileges.

Taking into account moreover a growing sensitiveness on the part of local authorities - this too a deeply rooted Dutch tradition - for any encroachment by central government on their autonomy in cultural and educational matters, it will be clear that the task-force has to operate very carefully in carrying out its mandate.

(iii) Thus, considering the question of how to structure an "Open School" which on the one hand, according to the mandate, should have to be an "autonomous" institution, on the other hand however not a new "educational empire", the task-force decided, before coming up with a proposal, to consult all the important national organisations and institutions concerned. The problem discussed with them has been: where on the continuum between a monolithic autarkic open school "empire" on one side and a multi-component system based possibly on contracts with private organisations and commercial producers on the other side an open school organisation should have to be placed? Without going to the latter extreme most organisations consulted have appeared to be in favour of a multi-component system, in which for instance the broadcasting organisations, the correspondence schools and companies publishing educational material each seem to be ready to make a "consortium" to render their services and offer their specific know-how, avoiding unnecessary competition, to a multi-media open school system.

Not only on the "production-side" however of a multi-media learning system, on the "processing side" as well as a multi-component system is preferred by all the agencies concerned: local authorities, who want to have their say in an educational network system; schools and adult-education institutions, claiming to be able to provide adequate educational opportunities using an open, multi-media curriculum.

Thus, based on this outcome of the consultations, in the two years pilot project phase a multi-component system will be tried out. In the "curriculum construction" and "multi-media production" sphere "consortia" as mentioned above are working on the directives of the task-force's curriculum team. In the fourteen locations (together including the territories of about 50 municipalities) in which the pilot projects are going to be launched, task-force members, before definitely recommending these municipalities to be selected as project areas, have discussed the problems of participation and of follow-up with the local authorities, and requested their co-operation and advice. This in some

cases has led to changes of the area's delimitation. Furthermore information and discussion meetings have been held with the local schools, adult education institutions, the churches, chambers of commerce, women's organisations, employers and trade unions, labour exchange officials etc. Their co-operation is considered to be essential firstly in order to reach potential participants which - as experience eg in Sweden has shown - can only be hoped to be successful through their intermediary. Secondly because, since they are local agencies providing education (as main function or occasionally) they together form the educational infra-structure, in which and by which an "open school" situation, within easy reach of everybody, has to be developed using a centrally provided open curriculum with multi-media presentation.

Schools and organisations therefore have been asked to make available not only their premises and facilities, but particularly some of their teachers and workers in order to make up the local "open school" staff. They should be recruited primarily from those adult education institutions and schools that are most familiar with the target group and the subject-matter on the relevant level, and will of course have a special training before starting their work.

5. This "multi-component" organisational set up and the process by which it is introduced and put into operation (in the way more of "problem solving" strategy, than according to the traditional "research development diffusion" model) in the view of the task-force has a twofold aim. Firstly to have an innovative effect on the already existing educational activities for adults; as far as these are evening school or training activities they are, as has been explained, up to now rather traditional or one-sided; as far as they are "adult education" activities in the usual narrower sense, they have been stressing - in another one-sidedness - their liberal or attitude directed character. Innovation thus has a double objective: to integrate the different, more or less opposed currents in the education of adults, and to open up new ways, which are hoped to be more adequate and effective, for adults to learn when and what they need. Secondly the effect of this operation should be an integrative one as far as the different, so far rather uncoherent parts of the local educational infra-structure are concerned. The outcome of this integrative process should be the realisation of a coherent education network on local or regional level.

Here the "open school" task-force's operation fits in with the work of the "Committee on Local Education Networks" of the Ministry of Culture, Recreation and Social Work mentioned before (page 22). Logically the latter's work should have been finished before: those networks already existing the "open school" would have had a well prepared infra-structure. As things are both operations - being part of one and the same policy of integrating the educational system - have to be and are coordinated as well as possible; on committee level as well as on government level.

At this point too the relationship can be made clear of the "open school" as it is conceived up to now by the task-force, with the "regular" school system as this might be developed according to the blue-print the present Minister of Education has recently presented for public discussion. ("Contours of a future education system"). In this blue-print the "open school" is suggested to be an autonomous institution separated from the regular school system, and including or at least co-ordinating all the "second way" and "second chance" educational activities already existing as well as those yet to be developed, open to adults after the age of compulsory education, which would have to be 18.

In the discussions of the "open school" task-force underlying the recommendations made to the Ministers so far a somewhat different perspective is emerging. A perspective in which adult education by way of an "open school" situation will be integrated into the school system to a much larger extent than is suggested in the blue-print.

In that perspective the concept of "recurrent education" as developed by the OECD in some of its recent reports, would play a role as operationalising more concretely and practically the "permanent education" concept. Taking into consideration the growing doubts with regard to a prolongation of compulsory education up to the age of 18 and the rather discouraging experiences even with part-time formal education made compulsory for young workers aged 16 and 17, it might be questioned whether compulsory education should not end at the age of 16+, after one has finished a "middle school".

In his blue-print the Dutch Minister of Education suggests that this "middle school" should be a comprehensive school of such a nature that "dropping out" in principle would not be possible.

It could be imagined that after this "middle school" period everybody would be entitled to further studies, on condition that one first should have had a minimum period of work or social experiences. Such a condition, cutting the continuous learning situation with its capillary effect, would probably lead a good many people to resuming further study only at later stage in life for very specific purposes and therefore being better motivated.

It goes without saying that as a prerequisite of such a possibility of "recurrent education" a well defined right to it should be legally and not only by collective bargaining guaranteed to every adult citizen. And in this perspective there should be no more "second way" or "second chance" education, but after "middle school" all education should

have to be "open", ie open to young adolescents as well as older adults, looking for learning situations on whatever level, adapted to their circumstances and their particular needs, and having the opportunity of "stepping in" at any time in life. Then adult education as a separate entity ("out-of-school education") up to now distinguished from "school education", not only as to its organisation, but as to methods and contents as well, would be fully integrated into an "open school system".

In the Netherlands some first steps on this way have been made - will it be worth while or should we say: "omnia vanitas"?

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PART V

SELF-MANAGEMENT OF ADULT LEARNING IN NORWAY

by

Åke Dalin

I. Introduction (1)

There is no empirical material which can give us a general survey of participants influence within the different organisations and institutions engaged in adult education in Norway. An evaluation of this question must therefore be based on relatively scattered impressions.

It seems that the organisers of adult education have different traditions as regards participants influence, often closely connected with the type of learning which characterises their activities. The voluntary study organisations, for instance, have democracy and participants influence as central values. They look at democratically organised studies as important training for democratic work in society.

School systems traditionally concentrate on the transfer of knowledge from teachers to the pupils. Adult education seems also to be marked by this concept. One has, however, the impression that the participants influence is greater here than in education for young people. In recent years there have been attempts to change the authoritatian relations in all kinds of schools. These changes aim at producing more co-operation between teachers and pupils in classrooms as well as in the management of the school as a whole.

In industry, participants influence in training programmes can differ very much. Some kind of management training is, for instance, based on the most extensive degree of participants' influence. Other kinds of company training can, on the other hand, be very authoritarian.

The extensive changes in internal human relations in industry since the last war, seem, however, also to have influenced learning policies. Today, increased employee influence over company training programmes is more and more common (cf. 2).

The degree of participants influence both in schools, voluntary organisations and in company training, is probably related to the kind of learning involved and to the extent teachers utilise materials that allow influence over the management of the learning process. Problem-related and unstructured tasks will often lead to co-operation between participants with a view to utilising their joint resources. For such tasks one will seldom find a "teacher" who is more competent than the participants as a joint group.

Education aiming at introduction of established professional fields will often be directed to a considerable degree by teachers and/or materials. The authority of the teacher is based on professional insight which gives possibilities for extensive influence. The participants' influence in such cases is often limited to questions related to training methods.

(1) In this paper the concepts of "self-management" and "participation" are used in the same way as in the paper prepared for the Lillehammer Colloquy (CCC/EES (75) 9).

In this paper I will give a short presentation of some Norwegian experiments based on different degrees of participants' influence. I will also indicate how self-management of learning is introduced in the Government Bill on adult education which was published in August this year. This presentation will pay special attention to the relationship between the Bill and the work for democracy in industry.

II. Policy of democratisation in industry

Industrial democracy concerns many aspects of the relationships between labour, management and capital. All of them are concerned with involving the employees in the work situation and in the decision-making process of the company to a much greater degree than has been usual up to now. The concept "industrial democracy" includes in Norway both participation in decision-making bodies (managing boards, company assemblies) and co-operative councils, combined with greater influence in organising of one's own work situation.

On the shop floor level, experiments have been carried out breaking production line patterns and dispensing with foremen. The workers are divided into small groups which are partly self-sustained as regards the management of their target (cf. 3.2.).

With the conclusion of the Main Agreement of 1966 between the Norwegian Federation of Trade Unions and the Norwegian Employers' Confederation, the valuable agreement on productivity councils was completed. In the co-operative council of each company (from 1966) the employer and the employees have equal representation. The council has an advisory function to the management in fields like factory management and production, measures for rationalisation, health and safety measures etc.

The workers representation in decision-making bodies is based on the new legislation which was adopted on 12 May 1972. In the Act, regulations have been established for extending employee participation in joint-stock companies of a certain size. In such companies with more than 50 employees, a majority of the employees may request that a third of the members of the Board of Directors, and at least two members, shall be elected by and among the employees. In companies with more than 200 employees, a new company institution shall be introduced - the Corporate Assembly. This institution, which shall consist of one third elected by and among the employees, and two-thirds by the general shareholders' assembly, is given important functions. The Corporate Assembly shall elect the company's Board of Directors, and be the company's final authority concerning decisions on investments which are of considerable scope in relation to the company's resources. The same applies to decisions on rationalisation or reorganisation of the enterprise which will result in major changes to, or redisposition of, the work force. The amendment also gives the employees in companies with a Corporate Assembly a guarantee that, if requested, one third of the Board of Directors shall consist of representatives of the employees.

III. Experiments in self-management of adult learning

Norwegian experiments, aiming at examining the impact of more participants influence in the learning process, are problem oriented. In the experiments learning is related to problems which are important to the practical or theoretical interests of the participants. The degree of influence in these experiments varies from co-operation between employee and employer or between student and teacher to extensive self-management on the basis of the interests of the participants. The experiments with open curricula and learning related to job-enrichment are based on a co-operation model. Problem-related study circles are, to a higher degree, managed by the participants themselves.

1. Open curricula

Experiments with open curricula, where influence by the participants on the learning process, group work and group evaluation are central elements, are functioning in several institutions, especially in teacher colleges and regional colleges.

In these experiments stress is laid on statements of objectives and search for education activities which correspond with the objectives. The realisation of objectives will then be a problem which has to be solved by current decision-making as regards objectives and means. This means renouncing a systematic learning process which is managed, evaluated and revised on the basis of models from education technology.

Decisions during the study period regarding objectives and means are taken by those participating in the learning process, which presupposes that the students share in the decision-making and co-operation during the study period. Curricula which are strictly preplanned will not satisfy this condition.

Student participation in the development of objectives confront both the students and the teachers with problems which require methodological solutions. Adjustment of traditional methods seems possible here. In interpreting both experimental and logical methods, choice of method must be related to the actual kind of problem. Methods of a more political nature are also possible.

The results of the methodological work will be continually evaluated by teachers and students in co-operation. Those involved in the learning process evaluate it the same way as they would have evaluated other kinds of methodological experiments. Formalised evaluation, with reproduction of knowledge as the criterion for learning, does not satisfy the demands for evaluation in learning processes based on open curricula.

2. Learning aspects of job enrichment

In recent extensive experiments in the field of new forms of collaboration within Norwegian industry, interesting results have been obtained that are expected to have an impact on the management of vocational learning processes. In these experiments the workers were organised in partly self-sustained groups at plant level (1).

The experiments themselves succeeded in creating a situation where the employees achieved a greater degree of influence over their own work situation than had previously been the case. This increased influence has led to an increased desire for learning related to the individual's own job and trade union activities.

The experiments confirm that the motivation for vocational learning depends on how relevant the content is for the individual's work situation. From this it follows that, if the learning is to have relevance in the work situation, the individual must have a say in the content and organisation of the courses. This experience will probably lead to further experiments in industry where the employee is responsible for the learning process in the light of those needs which are actualised when the workers are given greater influence in the work situation.

This kind of experiment can give the participants decisive influence on content and organisation in the vocational courses related to their work situation. The limitations to the participants' influence are attached to those limits for self-management which are defined for their jobs. In several companies Norwegian workers have some influence on the shaping of their own jobs. But they have no decisive influence. Workers with desires for qualifications which can give them influence in the company beyond their own job, must organise their studies outside the company, eg as a part of the study programme of the union.

3. Problem-related study circles

Voluntary study organisations based on individual or collective membership cover a great part of adult learning in Norway. Their activities are usually organised in the form of study circles, evening classes or correspondence courses. Most of the learning is related to subjects or problems which are important for the participants. Study circles are, in most cases, managed by the participants. Officially, many study circles have a "teacher". This is usually a person who organises and animates the work of the group.

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(1) Cf Soc.sci.inform. 9 (5) pp 65-90. "A Strategy for research and social change in industry: A report on the Industrial Democracy Project in Norway".

The unions have their own study organisations which organise study circles for the members. Most of the subjects in these circles are related to the duties of the shop stewards. In the last years the role of the shop steward has been changing. This role has developed from concentration on wage negotiations to obtaining more influence for workers on all aspects of company policy and activities. Study circles are organised as a method for the development of new qualifications relevant for workers' influence in these new areas. A good example for this way of organising learning is the Norwegian metal workers' union project which was presented to the Lillehammer Colloquy as a case study (1).

Recently the metal industry has undergone rapid technical development with extensive use of rationalisation and automatisation. This development has given many metal working union members safer jobs and better pay. At the same time many of the new jobs have a less interesting content and give the workers less influence on their own work. This lack of influence is a direct consequence of computer-based systems for information and management.

The metal workers would not accept the role of a passive onlooker in this development. Their union provided public resources for the development of management and information systems based on the interests of the members. The union branch of four companies in the metal industry utilised both the money and researchers to analyse the company with special stress on those management and information systems that were operational or under preparation. The branches organised their work as study circles. Their analyses provided the bases for constructive proposals for changes in the systems and partial proposals for the development of new systems. These proposals were designed to give the workers a more equitable influence in their own work situation, possibilities for learning and development in the job, a more varied job environment and more contact with other workers.

The reports from the four branches cover programmes for action which are currently being implemented. Many of the proposals have been accepted by the management. Others are being handled through negotiations.

The experiences from this project, in particular the working method, have spread in an informal way to other branches, both in the metal workers union and in other unions. The project has also provided important background material for agreements on the utilisation of computer-based systems between the unions and the employers organisation, both on company and on national levels.

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(1) The Norwegian Metal Workers' Union Project - Management, Planning and Electronic Data-Processing, by Union Secretary Jan Balstad (CCC/EES (74) 17 revised).

IV. Bill on adult education

In August 1975 the Norwegian Government published a Bill on adult education. In this Bill the idea of self-management of the learning process is a central topic. The motives for giving priority to this idea are clarified in the general objectives for adult education.

1. Objectives

The main objective for educational policy in Norway is to give the individual possibilities for development, both individually and in relation to tasks in industry and society. This can only be a reality for everybody if education policy is developed in the context of general objectives of equality and democracy.

The Bill is drawn up accordingly. The law shall be a tool in the work for equality between individuals and groups, between women and men, between the old and the young, between the physically handicapped and the healthy, and in the regional distribution of resources. Particular methods are proposed to reduce or remove problems which hinder groups of people from utilising adult education. The objective is to give all groups more equal possibilities to:

- have learning programmes developed which are adjusted to their own needs and interests;
- take part in these programmes;
- benefit from the programmes, independent of background factors such as education, social milieu, etc.

The work for democracy is closely connected with the work for equality. The aims are, on the one hand to work for formal rights to influence and participate in decision-making and, on the other hand, to contribute in such a way that people get equal possibilities to utilise these rights. Today many people neither have offers of relevant education, nor sufficient time for democratic work. By means of adult education possibilities are to be provided to help the individual to defeat those hindrances of a professional, linguistic or psychological nature, which reduce the possibilities for democratic influence.

The law proposal stresses that the individual must have the right to chose between different offers of education. Further, the participants in a course shall as a joint group have possibilities for decisive influence on content and organisation. This implies extensive democratisation of education institutions and organisations.

In relation to the dominating tendencies in society, the activities under law on adult education can have a two-sided role. They can be utilised either as a means of conforming to such tendencies or for emancipation from them through working for the transformation of society. This two-sidedness can have its effects at the individual, professional and social level.

In relation to the expectations of the individual, the government has formulated the following objective for adult education and the Bill:

> "The objective for adult education is to help the individual in his/her work towards a more meaningful life for himself/herself and others. To realise this for everybody, the Bill shall contribute to increased equality as regards the possibilities for adults to master their own life situation and the possibilities to change the life milieu through their own activities and in co-operation with others."

This view on the interaction between the life of adults and the offers of adult education, makes recurrent education for everybody in a life-long perspective a natural overall policy for all kinds of educational activities in society. The development of adult education on the basis of the actual Bill is a step towards this long-term policy. In the further work, the government desire to transform all kinds of education activities on the basis of the life-long learning idea, ie to get one legal system where both laws on adult education and other laws in the education field are integrated. The government will initiate development work and experiments aiming at this long-term transformation.

2) Democratisation of adult education

Democracy in adult education is to be developed both at course level and at institutional level. Education institutions and organisations which have a democratic organisational basis can be approved and get financial public support. The democratic organisational bas s shall ensure members and other participants possibilities for decisive influence on the activities. By democracy in this context is meant that the institution/organisation either is public, based on individual membership, or collective membership of organisations with individual members or else that the board of the institution/organisation is appointed by the Department of Education. The approved institutions/organisations must have a pedagogical practice which ensures the participants within each course possibilities, as a joint group, for decisive influence on content and organisation.

It seems clear that the following types of organisations and institutions could be approved on the basis of the demands referred to above: elementary schools, secondary schools, universities, regional colleges, folk high schools, vocational training as a part of labour market policy, voluntary study organisations and in some cases professional organisations. Other institutions with a managing board appointed by the Department of Education, could also, as mentioned above, be approved.

It is difficult to evaluate the institutions and organisations mentioned above as regards the possibilities for participants influence within their courses. Control over this practice will not be a part of the appointment procedure, but could be effective in connection with complaints registered with nigher authorities. An organisation/institution which is approved on the basis of general demands will be obliged to adjust its activities to the principle of participants influence. This implies that the organisation/ institution will have to inform the course participants about their rights on this point. It also implies a kind of course planning which makes such influence possible.

Several factors can limit the influence of the participants. Demands connected with examinations, necessary prequalifications within some topics, clarification of the subject as a part of the course description, the duration of the course and those demands of quality which the government will stipulate, are examples of such limitations. Demands for quality are the most important of all the demands for positiveness and versatility.

3) Company training

Private companies and their different kinds of organisations will not satisfy the delete demands referred to for organisational bases. Company training which is organised in co-operation with a public education institution, approved organisation, national trade organisations or by the company itself, might still, under certain conditions, have the possibility of obtaining public economic support. It presupposes a company board where decisions are taken with equal representation from the employer and the employees. For training which is organised in co-operation with a national trade organisation, one also presupposes that the study programme is accepted by the employers and the employees organisations at the national level. The principle of the participants influence within each course is a precondition also for company training with public support on the basis of the law.

The conditions for public support for company training will give the workers and their unions possibilities for decisive influence on those training activities which get such support. This means, as regards the content of the courses, that the workers' views on professional work and on management of the company could be introduced. More priority could for instance be given to training needs of the workers' representatives in managing boards and co-operative councils, and to subjects which enable the workers to a more self-sustained working situation. This illustrates possible relationships between the general work for industrial democracy and effects within the companies of the Bill on adult education.

V. Conclusion

The Parliament will probably deal with the Bill in the beginning of 1976. Assuming that those principles of participants' influence referred to above are accepted as a part of the law, we will have a new basis for democratisation of adult education. The law will give possibilities for experiments in which the self-management of adult learning is the fundamental principle. If these experiments are thoroughly studied, we can probably, at a later stage, give other countries Norwegian contributions based on experiences of a more general

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